

R H Greif

Sept. 1941

Grammar of
PALESTINIAN JEWISH
ARAMAIC

BY

WM. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT.



OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1924

Oxford University Press

London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen
New York Toronto Melbourne Cape Town
Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai

Humphrey Milford Publisher to the UNIVERSITY

PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

P R E F A C E

THIS introduction to Palestinian Jewish Aramaic presupposes a general knowledge of Hebrew or of some other Semitic language, such as Syriac or Arabic. It is intended primarily to equip students for the reading of the Targums (OJ) and the Aramaic portions of the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim (PTM), and to provide a help to the study of the Aramaic elements contained in the writings of the New Testament.

The Aramaic of the books of Ezra and Daniel is perhaps best learned after a study has been made of one of the dialects just named. Its forms and uses, therefore, are noted in a supplementary way throughout the grammar. At the same time those who choose to begin with Old Testament Aramaic (OTA) may do so with the help of the special paradigms at the end of the book and by concentrating chiefly on the notes marked OTA, which have been placed towards the close of most of the sections into which the grammar is divided.

The pioneer work of Gustaf Dalman is everywhere presupposed and made use of. His grammar of OJ and PTM formulates the now accepted principles of their treatment (see p. 9) and provides an inexhaustible store-house of material for further investigation. In accordance with his conclusions the punctuation of the supralinear MSS. is taken as a standard, although transliterated uniformly into the familiar sublinear system and so, in some particulars, made more precise (see § 2).

Dalman's grammar does not include syntax, so that the notes on syntax are a special feature of this grammar and are based almost entirely on the writer's personal observations. The references

added to the syntactical notes, and in other cases also, are intended to show the range of the evidence found, and to make it easy to test and supplement the conclusions drawn. They are not intended to be used by beginners. The evidence for the syntax of PTM has been taken wholly from the texts of Dalman's *Dialektproben*.

The scantiness of the material available for the study of OTA often makes the formulation of general statements about it difficult and practically inexpedient. The method adopted, therefore, has frequently been that of giving a precise numerical statement of the facts. The paradigm of the verb, also, has been made, more closely than is usual, a reproduction of existing verbal forms. Strack's edition of the texts, in his *Biblical Aramaic Grammar*, is assumed to be referred to, except when otherwise stated. Special note has been made of the evidence of the supralinear MSS. of OTA, of which Strack gives specimens.

References to the Targum of Onkelos are made implicitly to the supralinear editions of Kahle, Merx, and Praetorius, so far as they go (see Literature, p. 8). In the case of Gen. 1-4 and 24, the source is Merx's *Chrestomathy*, for other parts of the Pentateuch, Berliner's *Onkelos* is used. The references to Dalman's *Dialektproben* are made by means of figures referring to the page, paragraph, and line, generally without mention of the title, sometimes with the abbreviation Chrest. prefixed.

Much of the material in most sections of the grammar may be passed over on a first reading. Students working without a teacher are recommended to confine themselves at first to the notes marked with an asterisk. One or two sections which should be read completely are similarly marked. Those who have a fair working knowledge of Hebrew may begin to read the chapters of Genesis contained in Merx's *Chrestomathy* after they have completed § 8 of the *Grammar*. Only texts with a supralinear vocalization should

be used at first. Dalman's interesting *Dialektproben*, if it can be obtained, may be commenced at p. 14, after a few chapters of the Targum have been read. Unfortunately the *Dialektproben* is now out of print and there is no immediate prospect of its re-issue. The publication of further selections from the Aramaic portions of the Jerusalem Talmud, with an English vocabulary, would be of great assistance to English students of this literature.

The language of the *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, recently edited and translated by A. Cowley (1923), is closely related to the idioms of OJ, PTM, and OTA. The announcement by the editor of his intention to publish a grammar of the dialect of these papyri makes it superfluous to apologize for its exclusion from the scope of the present work. Still it may be said that, on the scale of treatment here attempted, no more than three dialects could properly be included. A more comprehensive work must be preceded by other detailed studies, which do not yet exist.

It is a very pleasant duty to acknowledge the help and encouragement the writer has received from the members of the *Society for Old Testament Study*, both individually and collectively. Without the assurance of their support and interest this grammar would never have been published nor expanded into its present form. Special thanks are due to my friend, the energetic and resourceful secretary, Dr. T. H. Robinson, of Cardiff University College.

I am greatly obliged to the readers of the Clarendon Press for their vigilant attention to every detail and to the Delegates for the cordiality of their acceptance of my work. My Assistant, Mr. E. J. Harris, B.D., has twice read through the proofs and has verified many references and has helped to remove inaccuracies that might otherwise have escaped detection.

WM. B. STEVENSON.

Glasgow, 5th March, 1924.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| PREFACE | 3 |
| LITERATURE | 8 |
| 1. Introduction | 9 |
| 2. Orthography | 11 |
| 3. Personal Pronouns (nominative forms) | 15 |
| 4. " " (suffix forms) | 16 |
| 5. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives | 18 |
| 6. Interrogatives | 20 |
| 7. The Relative Pronoun | 21 |
| 8. Nouns and Adjectives (general) | 22 |
| 9. Classification of Nouns (declensions) | 26 |
| 10. Inflection of Nouns (masculine types) | 29 |
| 11. " " (feminines) | 34 |
| 12. Pronominal Suffixes (with singular nouns) | 38 |
| 13. " " (with masc. plur. stems) | 40 |
| 14. " " (with fem. plur. stems) | 42 |
| 15. אֵית, לֵית, &c. | 43 |
| 16. Verbal Stems | 44 |
| 17. Perfect Tenses | 46 |
| 18. Imperfect Tenses | 48 |
| 19. Imperatives | 51 |
| 20. Infinitives | 52 |
| 21. Participles | 54 |
| 22. Compound Tenses | 57 |
| 23. Influence of Gutturals upon Verbal Forms | 60 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

7

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| 24. Verbs, initial Nun | 61 |
| 25. „ initial Aleph | 63 |
| 26. „ initial Yodh and Waw | 65 |
| 27. „ final Yodh and Aleph | 66 |
| 28. „ „ „ „ perfect tenses | 68 |
| 29. „ „ „ „ impff.,imperatt., and infinn. | 70 |
| 30. „ „ „ „ inflexion of particc. | 72 |
| 31. אָתָא, הָיָה, חָיָא, הָלַךְ | 73 |
| 32. Monosyllabic Stems (ע'') | 75 |
| 33. „ „ (inflected forms) | 77 |
| 34. Partially Monosyllabic Stems (ע'') | 78 |
| 35. „ „ „ (inflected forms) | 80 |
| 36. Verbal Suffixes | 81 |
| 37. „ „ (with ל' stems) | 84 |
| 38. „ „ (in OTA) | 86 |
| Paradigm of Verb (OJ) | 88 |
| „ „ Verbal Suffixes | 90 |
| Tables of OTA | 92 |

L I T E R A T U R E

- BERLINER, A. Targum Onkelos (text, with introduction and notes).
Berlin, 1884.
- Massorah zum Targum Onkelos. Leipzig, 1877.
- BURNEY, C. F. Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel. Oxford, 1922.
- DALMAN, GUSTAF. Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig, 1905.
- Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Frankfurt a. Main, 1922.
- Aramäische Dialektproben . . . mit Wörterverzeichnis. Leipzig, 1896.
- Worte Iesu. Leipzig, 1898. (English trans., T. & T. Clark, 1902.)
- DIETRICH. Grammatische Beobachtungen zu drei . . . Handschriften des Onkelostargums. ZATW xx 1900 (pp. 148-59).
- KAHLE, PAUL. Masoreten des Ostens — die ältesten punktierten Handschriften des Alten Testaments und der Targume (in Kittel's Beiträge, Heft 15). Leipzig, 1913.
- LAGARDE, PAUL DE. Prophetæ chaldaice. Leipzig, 1872.
- LANDAUER, S. Studien zu Merx' Chrestomathia targumica. In Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. iii, 1888 (pp. 263-92).
- MERX, ADALBERT. Chrestomathia Targumica (with critical notes and Latin glossary). Berlin, 1888.
- PRAETORIUS, FRANZ. Targum zu Josua in Jemenischer Überlieferung. Berlin, 1899.
- Targum zum Buch der Richter in Jemenischer Überlieferung. Berlin, 1900.
- STRACK, H. L. Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen, mit . . . Texten und einem Wörterbuch. 6te Auflage. Munich, 1921.

PALESTINIAN JEWISH ARAMAIC

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

DALMAN'S *Grammar of Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic* (Leipzig, 1894) opened a new period in the study of the Aramaic dialects. It separated clearly for the first time the dialects of the Targums, Talmuds, and Midrashim, and it supplied a coherent and correct vocalization of the grammatical forms of the Targum of Onkelos and of the related dialect used in the Palestinian Talmud. The vocalization was based upon Yemenite MSS., which employed supralinear vowel signs. The second edition of Dalman's grammar (1905), along with his dictionary (1901), supplemented and revised his early work, but did not change its fundamental character.

It was now made clear that the Targums of Onkelos (Pentateuch) and Jonathan (Prophets) were written in practically the same Aramaic dialect (OJ), somewhat modified by the influence of the Hebrew originals, and that the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim preserved the remains of another dialect (PTM), closely related to the former. Because of this relationship Dalman supplied the unvocalized texts of PTM with vowels determined for the most part by the analogy of the supralinear tradition of the Targums. In this whole literature he saw, with good reason, the best avenue of approach to the Aramaic speech of Palestine in the time of Christ and a valuable help to the study of the language and thought of the New Testament.

The origin, character, and variations of the supralinear MSS. of

the Targums have been greatly elucidated by the patient and extensive researches of Paul Kahle (published in 1913). His conclusions may be summarized as follows. The oldest and best tradition of the Aramaic of the Targums is contained in MSS. of Babylonian (i.e. Mesopotamian) origin. The Yemenite MSS. represent this tradition modified by the principles of the school of Tiberias in Palestine. The measure of Palestinian influence increased as time went on, so that the older Yemenite MSS. are nearer to the Babylonian tradition than the later. The sublinear vocalization of Berliner's edition of Onkelos goes back ultimately to a MS. which used the supralinear system. The forms of Berliner's edition are not real Aramaic forms, but through them we may reach a supralinear tradition similar to that of the MSS. which employ a supralinear vocalization.

The texts of PTM are to a large extent stories written in a simple popular style. The language, according to Dalman, is that of Galilee in the third and fourth centuries A.D. Part of what is contained in the Midrashim may be dated as late as the sixth century. There are some differences of vocabulary between the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, but no very obvious differences of grammar. The Aramaic of these Targums has a more literary character than the language of the Galilean stories, and is supposed to have been moulded first in Judea. The Targums themselves may not have received their final literary form before the fifth century, but the idiom in which they are written probably goes back at least to the second century and perhaps earlier. Dalman's interpretation of the phraseology of the New Testament in the light of Aramaic usage proceeds on the view that we have in OJ and PTM, respectively, close approximations to the literary and popular forms of the language of Palestine in the time of Christ.¹

¹ See especially Dalman's *Words of Jesus*, Introduction, section viii. The most recent attempt to show the influence of Aramaic upon a NT writer is

§ 2.¹ ORTHOGRAPHY

1. In unvocalized texts (PTM) א, ה, ו, and י are freely used to indicate vowels. Waw and yodh frequently denote short vowels, as well as long vowels. Typical examples are: מִלָּה = מילה, אִינוֹן = אינון, מִקְטָל = מיקטל, עִגְלָא = עיגלא, אִתִּין = איתין, אִתִּילִיד = איתיליד, חִמָּא = חומא, חִמָּא or חִמָּא. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of segholate nouns (עִגְלָא) and the preformative vowel of verbal reflexives (אִתִּילִיד) are commonly indicated in this way. The insertion of vowel signs into texts originally unvocalized accounts for the existence of forms like אִינוֹן, מִקְטָל, &c. In unvocalized texts וו and יי may be written for consonantal waw and yodh in the middle of a word (e.g. לִילּוֹן = לילון), and יי for diphthongal *ai* or for י pronounced as a double consonant, with daghesh (e.g. קִיִּים = קיים). א and ה both represent a final long vowel, especially *ā*. In PTM and OJ א is the more commonly used. In OTA א is preferred in some cases, e.g. to represent the emphatic ending א (§ 8), ה in other cases, e.g. in the feminine termination ה. In מֵאן (who?) and עָאֵל (he entered) א denotes the short *ā*, in order to distinguish these words from the prepositions מֵן and עַל. But מֵן and עַל are generally used. Final diphthongal *ai* is often denoted by אִי:

2. The punctuation of the MSS. of Babylonian origin published by Kahle is by no means uniform, varying through several stages from a quite simple system to one which is highly complex. The system of the Yemenite MSS. is a variation of the simple Babylonian system, and the resemblances and differences of these two are, principally, what is explained in the following notes.

C. F. Burney's *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922). It gives a most valuable synopsis of the Aramaic idioms and constructions which may be looked for in the Greek of NT.

¹ This section may be omitted when the grammar is being read for the first time. A knowledge of the ordinary Hebrew alphabet is presupposed.

3. In the simple Babylonian punctuation there are signs for daghesh (a supralinear 𐤀 or 𐤁) and raphe (supralinear 𐤂 or 𐤃), which, however, are seldom used (Kahle, p. 167). Some Yemenite MSS. do not employ daghesh at all (as in Merx, pp. 57 ff.), others regularly use the Palestinian sign (so in Judges and Joshua as edited by Praetorius). The supralinear MSS. of OTA in Strack occasionally exhibit the Babylonian signs for daghesh (Dan. 4. 24, 5. 8, 12, &c.) and raphe (Dan. 5. 7, 12).

4. The supralinear punctuation at first had no sign equivalent to the Palestinian silent shewa. Some Babylonian MSS., however, which use a complex system of punctuation, employ the sign for vocal shewa ambiguously as in the Palestinian system. In Yemenite MSS. the shewa sign usually represents only vocal shewa, although in some few cases it may represent Palestinian silent shewa also.

5. Pathaḥ furtive is seldom represented in either the Babylonian or the Yemenite MSS., but was, presumably, pronounced in the positions indicated by the Palestinian tradition, and so may be introduced into a sublinear transliteration of the supralinear signs. The suffix 𐤀 (§ 4) is, however, to be excepted from this treatment, in accordance with the analogy of OTA.

6. The following vowel signs are used in the supralinear system of the simplest type :

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|---------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Qameṣ | 𐤀 | 𐤁 | 𐤂 | 𐤃 | Ḥolem | 𐤄 | 𐤅 | 𐤆 | 𐤇 |
| Pathaḥ and seghol | 𐤈 | 𐤉 | 𐤊 | 𐤋 | Shureq | 𐤌 | 𐤍 | 𐤎 | 𐤏 |
| Ṣere | 𐤐 | 𐤑 | 𐤒 | 𐤓 | Vocal shewa | 𐤔 | 𐤕 | 𐤖 | 𐤗 |
| Ḥireq | 𐤘 | 𐤙 | 𐤚 | 𐤛 | (including ḥatephs) | 𐤜 | 𐤝 | 𐤞 | 𐤟 |

The first six of these signs denote regularly both long vowels and short vowels. Qameṣ at first had only the sound of *ā* in 'psalm' (approximately), not that of *ā* in 'ball', and ḥolem represented both Palestinian *ō* and Palestinian ḥolem. The later Yemenite MSS., however, use qameṣ for *ō*, so that, at different

periods, both כַּל and כָּל were pronounced as Hebrew קָל. No distinction is made in the representation of pathah and seghol, although, presumably, both sounds were used in actual speech. In transliterating the supralinear pathah into sublinear writing, the analogy of OTA and of Hebrew will determine our choice between sublinear pathah and sublinear seghol.

7. In Babylonian and sporadically in Yemenite MSS., pathah is used for ḥaṭeph pathah, following א and ע and sometimes following ה and ח (e.g. אַמֶּר for אָמַר, אַעֲבִיד for אָעִיד). This usage occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Dan. 3. 12, 3. 13, 4. 28, 4. 29), but not consistently (Dan. 4. 32 עֲבַדְתָּ, 5. 5 שְׁעַתָּה).

8. Some supralinear MSS. have forms like אִירְחִים, אִילְחָא, אִינָשׁ (= Hebrew אֲרָחִים, אֲלֵחִים, אֲנוּשׁ), instead of forms commencing with אָ or אַ. It is possible that this orthography represents an alternative pronunciation of the words in question, but more likely that yodh, with šere, simply represented ... just as pathah stood for ... Similarly גִּיצְלִי (*Chrest.* 29. 21) was neither a phonetic variant nor a grammatical equivalent of נִצְלִי (1 plur. impf. Pael), but was, originally, precisely the same word, differently spelled. This use of yodh (with šere) to denote vocal shewa occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA, and it throws fresh light on the Hebrew forms referred to in Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 23 h (אָזֹר = אֲזֹר).

9. Some supralinear MSS. write ʾ instead of ʾ, especially at the beginning of words, but also in other cases (e.g. in דִּירִי = דִּירִי, Deut. 9. 28—Kahle, p. 14). This alternative orthography may also be understood to imply an alternative pronunciation—yʾ or ʾ (cf. Syriac)—but it should rather be regarded as an alternative way of representing the sound that is usually written as vocal shewa.

10. Ḥaṭeph games is sometimes explicitly written in Yemenite MSS., especially in those of later date and especially in certain words, such as קָרַם.

11. With the exceptions already noted, the ḥaṭeph of the sub-

linear system are not specially represented in the supralinear writing. Still the distinctive sounds of the ḥaṭeph were no doubt employed by those who wrote the supralinear system. The forms ׀ (and) and ׁ (who, which), which are used before certain consonants followed by vocal shewa, may be taken as proof that these following consonants were pronounced with ḥaṭeph pathaḥ. Ḥaṭeph may therefore be employed in transliterating the supralinear into the sublinear system.

12. In Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack) ׀ is the form of the conjunction 'and' before words commencing with a consonant followed by vocal shewa (Dan. 3. 21, 4. 29, 5. 20, 6. 5, 6. 17), even when that following consonant is ב, מ, or פ (Dan. 5. 11, 6. 11). Before ב, מ, and פ not followed by vocal shewa, the form of the conjunction is ׁ, implicitly, at least, since the vowel is generally not explicitly represented. In the Yemenite MSS. of OJ ׁ is used in all these cases, as in sublinear Hebrew texts (so in Praetorius's edition of Joshua and Judges and in Berliner's *Onkelos*).

13. When the initial consonant of a word is followed by vocal shewa simple, the supralinear punctuation does not indicate its presence if it is preceded by the conjunction ׀ or ׁ (Gen. 1. 10, 1. 17, Judg. 1. 17, 1. 22, Dan. 3. 21, 5. 11, 6. 17, &c.). This may imply that the vocal shewa in these cases, as in Hebrew לְקַטֵּל and וְהָיָה, was no longer pronounced (so Dalman, p. 240). Some MSS. treat words that commence with ה and ח in the same way so that, for example, וְהָיָה may perhaps be an alternative for וְהָיָה (cf. Heb. לְהַפֵּר).

In the Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack), however, vocal shewa following an initial consonant is frequently unrepresented in writing, especially in association with particular forms or words, such as the particles ב, כ, ל, and ו. This implies that the absence of the sign of a hurried vowel (vocal shewa) is not a certain proof of its absence in speech, and makes

any conclusion regarding the case of the preceding paragraph uncertain.

14. In OTA the diphthong *ai* causes mutation, like a simple vowel, and silent shewa is written after the yodh of the diphthong (e.g. in בִּיתָהּ, הַיִּתָּהּ, הַיִּתָּהּ). Compare also, perhaps, קִרְמִיתָא (§ 11, note 12) and מְנוּחִיכִי (Ps. 116. 7, in the Hebrew Psalter). These analogies may be allowed to determine the sublinear vocalization of OJ and PTM in such words as הַיִּדִּין (§ 6), עֲבָרִיתָא (§ 11, note 7), אִיתִי (§ 31), and the pronominal suffixes יְכִי and יָהּ (§ 13).

§ 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (nominative forms)

| PTM | | OJ | | |
|------------------|---------------|---------------------|-------|---------|
| PLUR. | SING. | PLUR. | SING. | |
| אֲנֵן | אֲנָא | (נִחְנָא) אֲנִחְנָא | אֲנָא | 1 com. |
| אֲתֵן | אֲתָ (אֲנָתָ) | אֲתֵן | אֲתָ | 2 masc. |
| — | אֲתָ (אֲנָתָ) | אֲתִין | אֲתָ | fem. |
| הִינָן, אִינָן | הוּא | אֲנֵן | הוּא | 3 masc. |
| הִינִין, אִינִין | הִיא | אֲנִין | הִיא | fem. |

Accent. 1*. In OJ and OTA the pronouns of the 1 person plural are accented on the penultimate syllable. This is one of the few exceptions to the general rule in these dialects that the last syllable of a word is accented.

Forms. 2. The shortened forms אֲנָ, אֲנִ, and אֲתִ sometimes occur independently in PTM (cf. אֲנִשׁ for אֲנִישׁ and נִחְנָא for אֲנִחְנָא). They, and אֲתָ = אֲתָ, also coalesce with participles into tense forms (§ 21, note 7).

3*. אִינָן, &c., are unvocalized spellings equivalent to אֲנֵן, &c. (§ 2, 1).

OTA. 4. For the forms of OTA see paradigm, p. 92. The last letter of אֲנִחְנָא is נ three times and once ה. אֲנָתָהּ is

a Kethibh form, always changed to אָנִי by Qere, but pointed אֲנִיָּהּ by the supralinear MSS. in Strack. אֲנִי and הָמוּ occur, as nomina-tives, each once only.

Idioms. 5. The expressions הָהוּא גִבְרָא ('a certain man', § 5, note 12) and הָהוּא אֲתָתָא are used by PTM in modesty for אֲנִי (cf. Hebrew עֲבָדֶיךָ) and in curses or protestations for אַתָּה. In polite address, for אַתָּה, OJ uses רַבּוּנִי and רַבּוּנִי and PTM מָרִי, מָרִן, מָרִי and רַבִּי (cf. Hebrew אֲדֹנָי).

6. For 'he himself', &c., see § 4, note 6.

§ 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (suffix forms)

| PTM | OJ | OJ, PTM |
|-----------|------------------|----------------|
| PLUR. | PLUR. | SING. |
| וְ | נָא ¹ | י . 1 com. |
| כוֹן | כוֹן : | ךָ . 2 masc. |
| כִּין : | כִּין : | ךָ . fem. |
| הוֹן , וְ | הוֹן : | יָה .. 3 masc. |
| הִין : | הִין : | יָה . fem. |

1*. These suffixes are equivalent to English possessive adjectives and to the genitives of the personal pronouns in other languages. For the possessive pronouns see § 7, note 4.

Forms. 2. The suffixes of the table are those joined to the singular stems of nouns ending with a consonant. In slightly different forms they are attached to verbs to express the accusatives of the personal pronouns (§ 36). יָכִי. (2 s. f.) and אֲתָ (3 s. f.), used in the marriage contract printed in Dalman's *Dialektproben*, p. 4 (ll. 4, 5, 6, 8), are older, uncontracted, forms of יָךְ. and אָךְ. respectively. See also § 12, note 2, and § 13. For the variations of OTA, see p. 93.

¹ See § 3, note 1.

3. Merx (*Chrest. Targum.*) prints קבליא in Gen. 2. 20 for קבליה and תחיתא for תחיתה in Gen. 2. 21.

Accus. Cases. 4*. The accusatives of the personal pronouns are expressed in three ways: (1) by suffixes (§ 36), (2) by יתי, &c., (3) by לי, &c. OJ nearly always follows the Hebrew text in its choice between a verbal suffix and an independent accusative form. In the latter case it regularly employs יתי, &c., seldom לי, &c. For ליה and להון after particc. see Gen. 3. 15 and Exod. 3. 9.

In PTM לי, &c., are used as accusatives after participles (18. 12, 19. 5, 20. 11, 14, &c.) and sometimes after finite forms of the verb (16. ii. 9, 26. 3, 28. 15). A pronominal object after a verb is usually expressed by a suffix. יתי, &c., occur after participles (16. ii. 3, 23. 2), perfects (19. ii. 14, 21. 7, 25. ii. 5), and impff. (22. ii. 5).

In OTA the pronominal object of a verb is generally expressed by means of a suffix. But only the independent forms הִמוֹ (in Ezra), הִמוֹן (in Daniel) and אִנּוֹן (Dan. 6. 25) are used for 'them'. ית with a suffix occurs once (Dan. 3. 12, יתהון, לי, &c., only with participles (Dan. 2. 23, 4. 22, 29, 6. 17, Ezra 5. 2).

Ethic Dative. 5. לי, &c., are also used as 'ethic datives', especially after verbs of motion. Examples: נִפֵּק לִיה (26. 5), מִדְּפִקָא לִיה (24. ii. 5).

Reflex. Pron. 6*. In PTM the reflexive pronouns are generally expressed by גִּרְמִי, &c., sometimes by נִפְשִׁי, &c. (Dalman, p. 115, § 13). In OJ the pronominal suffixes are used, in agreement with the Hebrew text, נִפְשִׁי, &c., being occasional alternatives. In PTM emphatic 'he himself' is expressed by כָּל גִּרְמִיה, 'this itself' by כָּל גִּרְמָא דָּא (דָּא = this, § 5). גִּרְמִי means, literally, 'my bone' (for its inflexion see § 12, note 4).

OTA. 7. In MT גִּרְא (Baer, Ginsburg) is usual for גִּרְא, but cf. pausal שִׁיבִיתָנָא (Dan. 3. 17). כֵּם and הֵם occur only in Ezra, as alternatives to כּוֹן and הֶון. See Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I. 113.

§ 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

| | PTM ADJECTIVES. | PTM PRONOUNS. | OJ ADJECTIVES. | OJ PRONOUNS. |
|-------|--------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| this | הַזֶּה, הַזֵּה, הַזֶּה, הַזֵּה | זֶה, זֵה | הַזֶּה | זֶה (זֵה) |
| | הַזֵּה | זֵה | הַזֵּה | זֵה |
| these | הַלְּזֵה | אֵלֶּה, אֵלֵּה | הַלְּזֵה | אֵלֶּה |

ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS.

| | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|----------------|------------------|----------|
| that | הַהוּא | הַהוּא, הַהוּא | הַהוּא (הַיְכִי) | הַיְכִי |
| | הַהוּא, הַהוּא, הַהוּא | הַהוּא | הַהוּא | הַהוּא |
| those | הַהֵנּוּ, אֵינֵה | — | הַהֵנּוּ | הַהֵנּוּ |

Forms. 1*. הַהוּא and הַהוּא are the forms of the Babylonian MSS. published by Kahle. הַהוּא and הַהוּא in the supralinear Yemenite MSS. are Hebraisms (Dalman). הַלְּזֵה (16. ii. 7) is pointed הַלְּזֵה in Dalman's paradigm (p. 397).

2*. אֵלֶּה, אֵלֵּה, and אֵינֵה are the unvocalized spellings of PTM (§ 2. 1).

3. הַזֶּה, הַזֵּה, and הַלְּזֵה occur as alternatives to הַזֶּה, &c. (e.g. 15. 6) and are cited by Dalman (p. 111), but are held by him to be incorrect forms (p. 120).

4. PTM has a number of forms such as אֵלֶּה and אֵלֵּה (28. 24) in which א alternates with ה. It also frequently uses contracted forms (הַזֵּה, הַלְּזֵה, &c.). זֶה and הַזֶּה coalesce with a following הוּא into זֶה הוּא and זֵה הוּא. ל, כ, ו join with הַזֵּה into לְזֵה, כְּזֵה, וְזֵה (Dalman, p. 112).

OTA. 5. For OTA forms see paradigm (p. 92). אֵלֶּה for 'those' (Dan. 2. 44) and אֵלֶּה for 'these' (Ezra 5. 15) occur each once only. זֶה 'that' is both masculine (once) and feminine (twice). In OTA the same forms are used, without distinction, as adjectives and pronouns. See also notes 10 and 14.

Special usages. 6. הַזֶּה occurs in PTM as an enclitic particle following interrogative pronouns (Dalman, *Grammar*, pp. 111 and 224). In OJ it is similarly used to translate הַזֶּה after לָמָּה (Gen. 25. 22) and also for הַזֶּה associated with a numeral (Gen. 27. 36, Judg. 16. 15). הַזֶּה is sometimes used by OJ as a translation of Hebrew כֵּן (Gen. 45. 9, Exod. 3. 14 f., 5. 10, 7. 26, Josh. 24. 2, Judg. 11. 15, 2 Kings 19. 20).

7*. הַזֶּה is usually equivalent to הַזֶּה (Judg. 6. 20, &c.) and seldom occurs otherwise (Gen. 27. 33). The pronoun 'that' in OJ is also expressed by הוּא (Gen. 2. 19, 41. 28, 42. 14, Exod. 16. 23, Amos 7. 6), which might, therefore, properly be included in the table.

Syntax. 8*. OJ generally distinguishes between adjective and pronoun forms. Exceptions are: (a) הַזֶּה, (b) הַזֶּה instead of הַזֶּה, after a noun with a pronominal suffix attached, under the influence of the Hebrew text (Exod. 10. 1, Josh. 2. 20, Judg. 6. 14), (c) the phrase הַזֶּה הַזֶּה = הַזֶּה 'to-day' (cf. הַזֶּה הַזֶּה 'this day'), (d) הַזֶּה (Judg. 13. 23, 15. 7).

9. In PTM הַזֶּה generally serves as the pronoun 'that' (16. ii. 11 and 13, 18. ii. 3) and other singular adjective forms are also freely used as pronouns (15. 6, 16. ii. 12, 28. 24).

On the other hand, pronoun forms are used as adjectives (18. ii. 10 and 11—הַזֶּה, 28. 13—הַזֶּה). הַזֶּה, in particular, occurs more often than הַזֶּה as an adjective (16. ii. 10, 17. ii. 8, 20. 21, 24. ii. 1).

10*. In PTM a demonstrative nearly always stands before its associated noun (two exceptions in *Chrest.* 20. 12 and 21. 15 are both from the same narrative). In OJ the influence of the Hebrew text has established the rule that demonstratives follow the nouns they qualify. Exceptions agree with the order of the Hebrew text (Gen. 2. 23, Judg. 16. 15, &c.). In OTA a demonstrative adjective generally follows, but may precede, an associated noun (Dan. 2. 44).

11. Nouns qualified by a demons. adjective nearly always assume the emphatic form (see § 8, note 3).

Idioms. 12. הַרְיִן is used with proper names in the sense of 'the well-known' or 'the previously-mentioned' (15. ii. 2, 17. ii. 1; similarly 22. ii. 9). הַהוּא is sometimes equivalent to פְּלָנִי 'a certain', e.g. in the phrases הַהוּא יוֹמָא, הַהוּא גִבְרָא (and הַרְיִן . . . הַהוּא) express 'this . . . that' or 'one . . . another'.

13. הֵּ with suffixes of the third person is sometimes used as a demons. adjective or pronoun, like אַתָּה, &c., in the Mishnah (Dalman, § 17. 8).

14. In OTA before a noun governed by a preposition an anticipative pronominal suffix is used in an emphasizing demonstrative sense (בְּהַ זְמַנָּא 'at that very time'). The noun is then in the emphatic form (§ 8). So in PTM אָמַר לֵיהּ לְרַבִּן יוֹחָנָן 'he said to this same R. Jochanan' (20. ii. 10).

§ 6. INTERROGATIVES

| | PTM | OJ | |
|--------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------|
| who? | מָן, מַאן | מִן | |
| what? | מָה | מַה | |
| which? | הַיִּידִין | אֵיִידִין | sing. masc. |
| „ | הַיִּידָא, אֵיִידָא | אֵידָא | fem. |
| „ | הַיִּילִין, אֵיִילִין | (אֵילִין) | plural com. |

Forms. 1*. For the spelling מַאן see § 2. 1. אֵילִין happens not to occur in OJ. הַיִּידִין, &c., are the unvocalized spellings of הַיִּידִין, &c. (§ 2. 1 and 14).

2. In PTM הוּא מִן contracts into מִנּוּ and הוּא מַה into מַיִ. In OJ מִן = מַה (note 4).

Usages. 3*. The meanings of מַה are: what? how? what kind of? and (with adjectives) how! מַה לְמָה (לְמָה) expresses 'why?' and

לְמָהּ (כְּמָה) 'how many?' Questions introduced by לְמָהּ so often expect a negative answer that this interrogative acquires the sense of a negative (§ 7, note 7).

4. In OJ מָה רִין or מָה רִין renders Hebrew מַה־יָּה (Gen. 27. 20, Judg. 18. 24), but לְמָה רִין is used for לְמַה־יָּה (§ 5, note 6).

Syntax. 5. אִידִין, &c., are both pronouns and adjectives. Their associated nouns may stand in the emphatic form (*Chrest.* 23. 3 and 4, Isai. 66. 1), but not necessarily.

Interrog. Adverbs. 6. אָן (OJ) and הָן (PTM) = 'where?', לְאָן = 'whither?' and מֶן אָן = 'whence?' מֶן אָן (Gen. 29. 4) is also written for מֶן אָן.

OTA. 7. Only מֶן and מַה occur in OTA. Most editors, including Baer and Ginsburg, point the former מֶן. In Dan. 3. 33 מַה־כְּ (with an adjective) = how!

§ 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

Forms. 1*. In OJ and PTM the relative pronoun is הַ (uninflected). In OTA and in OJ compounds (הַיְלִי, &c., note 4) the form is הִי.

Idioms. 2*. הַ without an antecedent means 'that which', 'he who', 'those who', &c. הַ הָרִין, הַ הָרִין, מֶן, and מָה are also used to express these combinations.

3*. הַ before a genitive means 'the possession of', 'those of', 'those belonging to', &c. E.g. הַיְלִי = 'the people of my house'. In reports of the opinions of the Rabbis, before the name of a Rabbi, it stands for 'the opinion of'.

Compounds. 4*. הַיְלִי, הַיְלִי, &c., 'that which is to me', 'that which is to thee', &c., are the equivalents of the possessive pronouns mine, thine, &c., in OJ (cf. Dan. 2. 20). In PTM הַיְלִי, &c., are more usual. הַיְלִי may be a phonetic variant of הַיְלִי (Barth) or = הַ + יְלִי 'the possession of my hand' (Dalman).

5. $\text{מָה} + \text{וְ} + \text{לִי}$, with suffixes, is treated as a substantive, meaning property (16. ii. 2, מִדְּלִיָּה).

6. In PTM וְ is a contraction for וְהוּא and וְ occurs as a contraction for וְהִיא (Dalman, p. 98).

Conjunctive uses. 7*. וְ is much used as a conjunction, —of time (when), place (where), cause (because), purpose (in order that), and introducing subject and object sentences (= Hebrew כִּי 'that'). Joined to prepositions it gives them the force of conjunctions (וְ מֵן = after, וְ עַד = until or whilst). כֵּן 'when' and וְלִמָּה 'lest' or 'perhaps' (Ezra 7. 23 וְ לִמָּה) are compounds with כֵּן and לִמָּה (§ 6, note 3) respectively. וְ בְדִיל is used for 'because' and 'in order that'.

Relative Adverbs. 8*. The relative adverbs—where, whither, and whence—are expressed in PTM by וְ הֵן , וְ לָהֵן , and וְ מֵן הֵן (cf. § 6, note 6) and in OJ generally by וְ . . לְהֵן , וְ . . מֵן הֵן , and וְ . . מֵן הֵן (cf. OTA וְ . . מֵן הֵן , Ezra 6. 1).

§ 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (general)

| FEMININE. | MASCULINE. | |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| מָב | מָב | singular absolute. |
| מִבְּ | מָב | construct. |
| מִבְּתָא | מָבָא | emphatic. |
| מִבְּנֵן | מִבְּנֵן | plural absolute. |
| מִבְּתָא | מִבְּתָא | construct. |
| מִבְּתָא | מִבְּתָא | emphatic. |

Emphatic state. 1*. The emphatic ending \bar{a} has a demonstrative force equivalent to the Hebrew definite article. The corresponding English expression may, however, be indefinite, e.g. when the noun is abstract (16. ii. 4, 21. 15, 24. ii. 6), or a generic word (Dan. 5. 1). Sometimes the emphatic ending has practically the force of a possessive pronoun (20. 5, where שְׁנֵאִיָּה

= 'our enemies', 24. ii. 12, where 'the stick' means 'his stick' or 'a stick').

2. In PTM and OJ the emphatic state tends to lose its distinctive definite meaning, as in Syriac, but to a much lesser extent (14. ii. 1, 25. ii. 10, 18. ii. 2, 20. 12, 24. ii. 1, 27. 6, 25. ii. 3 and 9; Gen. 2. 10, Exod. 1. 8, 12. 20, Josh. 2. 2, Judg. 9. 36). In PTM emphatic forms (18. 6, 18. ii. 6, 19. ii. 3, 21. ii. 7, 27. 2) as well as absolute forms (16. ii. 6, 17. ii. 1, 29. 1, 25. ii. 3) are associated with the indefinite word ܐܝܢ, one. In OJ the emphatic state seems to be more often used with ܐܝܢ (Gen. 1. 9, 2. 24, 27. 38, 45, 33. 13, 34. 16, 40. 5, Deut. 24. 5, Josh. 3. 12, 13, 17. 17, Judg. 6. 16, 9. 37) than the absolute is (Gen. 1. 5, 11. 1, Deut. 28. 7, Josh. 9. 2). The MS. evidence sometimes varies and the printed texts even have both constructions in the same verse (Gen. 11. 6, Josh. 17. 14). In OJ a singular indefinite object is generally expressed by the emphatic state (Gen. 2. 8, 4. 1, 4. 17, 20. 9, 21. 8, 28. 2, 29. 2, 33. 17, Judg. 6. 26), rarely by the absolute (Judg. 6. 17). Emphatic forms are said to be preferred in pause (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 96, Lev. 2. 13, Deut. 26. 7).

OTA seems always to use the emphatic form in its distinctive sense.

3*. There are a few exceptions to the rule that a noun qualified by a demons. adjective stands in the emphatic form (16. ii. 2). The absolute state is employed when the associated noun is accompanied by a numeral and a demons. adjective (28. 13). In ܐܡܢܐ ܕܗܝܐ (Judges, *passim*) the feminine noun may be regarded as masculine in form, and so as in the emphatic state. Cf. ܐܡܢܐ ܕܗܝܐ, Deut. 10. 10.

4*. An attributive adjective regularly assumes an emphatic form when the noun it qualifies stands in the emphatic state (Gen. 1. 16, 10. 21, 27. 15, 29. 2, Deut. 3. 24, 11. 2; *Chrest.* 23. ii. 4; Dan. 3. 26, 6. 27). Cf. ܐܡܢܐ ܕܗܝܐ (1 Sam. 12. 22), but ܐܡܢܐ ܕܗܝܐ (24. ii. 13).

Absolute state. 5*. Some words and phrases employ absolute forms in a definite sense (25. ii. 3, בֵּית עֵלָם 'the cemetery'). In PTM foreign words may be used definitely without the addition of an emphatic ending (16. 6 ff., 23. 4, בִּילִי, דִּינִיטִס). Predicative adjectives are generally put in the absolute state (Dan. 2. 11), even when, in OJ, they translate Hebrew words with a definite article attached (Gen. 2. 11, 42. 6). A predicative adjective in the emphatic state may be considered to be a superlative (15. 8).

Construct and Genitive. 6*. In PTM construct forms, followed by genitives, have only a limited use (17. 13, עֲמוּנֵי בֵּיתָךְ). They occur most frequently as the second member of compound prepositions (לְעֵיל, בְּנוֹ, לְסוֹף, &c.) and in stereotyped phrases which are almost compound nouns, e.g. בַּר נֶשׁ (28. 11), בֵּית עֵלָם (25. ii. 3), מִטְמַעֲי שְׁמִשָּׁא 'sunset' (22. ii. 5), פְּרוּס עֲרֹסִי 'my bed-cover' (29. 15).

Instead of the genitive construction PTM usually employs phrases like (a) בֵּיתָא דְחַבִּירִיָּה, עוֹפָא דְשָׁמַיָּא 'the birds of the sky', 'the house of his comrade', or (b) בֵּיתָה דְאֵלֹהָא, שְׁמִיָּה דְאֵלֹהָא 'the name of God', 'the house of her mother', when the expression is definite, and like (c) רְמוֹנֵין דְדִהָב 'pomegranates of gold', when the expression is indefinite. In all these cases דִּי means 'that of' or 'those of' and governs the following noun in the genitive case (§ 7, note 3). Mixed constructions like הִלָּת מְלִין דְחַכְמָתָא (17. 15) and מָרִי רְבִיתָא (*Chrest.* 17. 7, Judg. 19. 22) occur less often.

7*. In OJ the use of a construct, followed by a genitive, is general, although the constructions of note 6 also occur. Examples: (a) Gen. 1. 14, 25, 2. 7, 12, 22. 12, Josh. 1. 8, 13, 2. 2, 4. 16, 5. 1, and frequently; (b) Gen. 30. 20; (c) Gen. 3. 21, Deut. 10. 7—נִחְלִין דְמִיין.

8. In OTA the idiom of a construct followed by a genitive prevails—except in one group of cases, where the constructions of note 6 (a) and (c) are preferred. These latter constructions are generally, though not exclusively, used before or after and in com-

bination with standing phrases, such as 'treasure-house', 'house of God', 'book of records'. Examples: $\text{בֵּית גִּנְזָא דִּי מַלְכָּא}$ (Ezra 5.17), $\text{אֲשֵׁי־בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא}$ (Ezra 5.16), $\text{אֶצְבָּעֵן דִּי יַד־אָנָּשׁ}$ 'fingers of a human hand' (Dan. 5.5). Cf. Ezra 4.15, 6.5, 7.12, 7.17, Dan. 2.14, 2.49, 4.26, 5.3. There are comparatively few cases of the use of these constructions as an alternative to a simple construct and genitive (Ezra 5.2, 13, 14, 7.26, Dan. 2.15, 19, 38, 41, 4.12 (= 20), 5.7 (= 16 and 29), 5.23, 24, 7.4, 6, 7 (= 19), 7.9, 10, 28). A considerable proportion of them seem to imply at least a slight emphasis (e.g. Ezra 5.14, 7.26, Dan. 2.38, 5.7 (= 16 and 29), 5.23, 7.4, 7 (= 19), 7.9, 10). 'The den of lions' is both $\text{גִּבְּ אֲרִי־וֹתָא}$ (6.8, 13, 25) and $\text{גִּבְּאֵ דִּי אֲרִי־וֹתָא}$ (6.17, 20).

The construction of note 6 (b) occurs in OTA about a dozen times and the words governed by דִּי are then evidently in most cases emphatic (Dan. 2.44, 3.28f., 4.23, 6.25, 27, Ezra 5.11). Renderings such as 'the name of him who is (really) God' and 'the appearance of that fourth' are sometimes appropriate (Dan. 2.20, 3.25, 3.26).

Accusative case. 9*. In PTM the object noun has generally no distinctive mark. ל occasionally introduces definite accusatives (15.11, 16.ii.11, 21.6, 7, 23.8, 27.6) and יֵת does so rarely (15.ii.8). In OJ יֵת is the regular equivalent of Hebrew אֵת and ל seldom occurs (in Gen. 3.17 לְמִימַר = Hebrew לִקְוֹל ; for Gen. 39.15 see § 36, note 11). The old accusative ending \bar{a} survives in a few adverbs of place (e.g. תַּחְתָּא 'below'). For the accusative pronoun anticipating an object noun see § 36, note 11.

10. In OTA ל is not infrequently associated with a definite accusative. Possibly it has a slight demonstrative or emphasizing effect.¹

¹ It is prefixed to expressions for the true God (Dan. 2.19, 4.31, 34, 5.23) and the false gods (3.18, 5.4, 23; cf. 2.34), to words and phrases denoting the rulers (3.2, 6.2) and wise men of Babylon (2.12, 14, 24; 5.7), to the

Inflexional endings. 11*. The feminine singular ending **נָא** is attached especially to stems that end in *ān*, hence **רִיקְנִיָּא** (Gen. 1. 2) and **פִּלְגְנִיָּא**. Feminine plural endings *āwān* and *ēwān* are used by some nouns. Examples: (a) **חִילָּוֹן**, **בִּירָּוֹן**, **לִילָּוֹן**, (b) **אָחָּוֹן**, **אָחָּוֹן**—from **אָח**, sign, and **אָחָת**, sister. Cf. **מָאָן** = **מָאָן** and **סָאָן** = **סָאָן**. See also § 10, note 21, and § 30, note 2.

12*. The plurals of **אָב**, **אָם**, and **שׁוֹם** are **אָבָּהֶן**, **אָמָּהֶן**, and **שׁוֹמָהֶן**, respectively.

13*. The termination **ִי** is sometimes used when a noun is in the absolute or in the emphatic state. Examples: **יָמִי** (Gen. 1. 10), **חַיִּי** (Gen. 2. 7), **חַוִּי** (Gen. 18. 7). Such forms are specially frequent in the case of gentile names like **בִּיתָאִי** (*Chrest.* 24. ii. 1), **מִצְרָאִי** (Exod. 12. 30), **חִתָּאִי** (Josh. 1. 4), and **בְּשָׂרָאִי** (Dan. 2. 5). Dalman compares, also, Γεθσημανῆ = **נֵת שְׁמֵנִי** = 'garden of oils'.

14. Words like **בְּפִרְנִין** (Num. 32. 4), from **כְּפַר**, village, and **בְּנִתִין** (16. ii. 14) are examples of double plurals. For *ān* as a plural ending see Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 450 f.

Duals. 15*. The only clear duals in PTM and OJ are **תְּרִין**, **תְּרִיתִין** ('two'), and **מָאָתִין** (200). But the ending **ִין** in words such as **עֵינִין** may also be a dual ending (OTA **עֵינִין**). In OTA (besides **תְּרִין**, **תְּרִיתִין**, and **מָאָתִין**) **יָדִין**, **רַגְלִין**, **קַרְנִין**, and **שִׁנִּין** occur.

§ 9*. CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS (declensions)

The following classification is made with a view to a statement of the rules for nominal inflexion, as given in the next paragraph. Six classes, or declensions, are distinguished.

names Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (2. 49, 3. 13, 22, 30; cf. 3. 27 and 3. 28) and to the name Daniel, when standing as an object by itself (2. 19, 4. 31, 34, 5. 23; cf. 2. 13 and 18). Almost the only other cases of **ל** introducing a definite object, in Daniel, are found in 5. 2, 22 and 23. In *Ēzra* very few examples altogether occur (4. 14, 5. 12, 6. 7, 7. 25). In *Ezra* 6. 7 **לְעִבְדֵּת** may be regarded as a textual error.

A nouns. Nouns originally disyllabic and having two short vowels are very slightly distinguished in Aramaic from nouns originally monosyllabic and ending in two consonants. The two groups are here joined in the A class of nouns, which is further subdivided into three sub-classes according as the characteristic vowel (used in the inflected forms) is *ā*, *ī*, or *ǣ* (OTA *ē*). The absolute forms, of which specimens follow, do not clearly indicate the sub-class to which an A noun belongs.

| <i>ū class.</i> | <i>ī class.</i> | <i>ǣ class.</i> | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| | כְּחַב | דְּחַב | originally disyllabic. |
| | נְדַר | נְפִישׁ | originally monosyllabic. |
| קְשׁוּמ | רְחִישׁ | לְחִים | |
| בּוֹסֶם | עֵינָל | עֶבֶר | |
| | תְּבִין | | |

In the *ǣ* class absolute forms like רְגִז (Deut. 9. 20, Dan. 3. 13), בְּסֶם (Exod. 30. 23), and בְּחַל (Dan. 5. 5) sometimes occur. In Dan. 5. 5 the supralinear MSS. give בְּחַל for the בְּחַל of MT.

Words of the *ā* class like לְחִים are בְּעִיל, מְעִים, חֲקִיל, מְלִיף, סְעִיר, סְעִיר, and רְעִים (OTA בְּעִל, מְעִם, צִלִּם, and לְחִם, with עֶבֶר in Dan. 2. 49, 6. 21).

Some words have more than one absolute form (מְלִיף, חֲקִיל, &c.). In OTA the uses of מְעִם and מְעִם, צִלִּם and צִלִּם are perhaps differentiated by MT (Strack, § 8 c.).

יִירֶף (Num. 5. 22) and יִיתֶם (Exod. 22. 21, Deut. 27. 19) are unusual forms, perhaps at first only orthographically different from יִרְף and יִתֶּם (§ 2, notes 8 and 9). The former belongs to the *ī* sub-class and the latter to the *ā* sub-class.

B nouns. Disyllabic nouns having *ā* in the final syllable and an unchangeable long vowel, or a shut syllable, in the penult, together with all participles (whose final vowel is *ṣere* or *pathah*) follow

a distinct rule of inflexion (see § 10). Examples : אֶלֶם, אֶרְבַּע, אֶמֶר, סָהִיד. A small number of monosyllables including וֶר, דָּם, וֶן, חָר, בֶּר (son), and שוֹם (שָׁם OTA) belong to this B class and not to the C class.

C nouns. Monosyllables from stems ע"ע have absolute forms like עֵם, אֵם, and בֵּל, in which the vowels \bar{e} and \bar{o} are frequently represented by י and ו respectively (e.g. נֵשִׁית, פֹּהֶם). Dalman gives נִיר (arrow) and נִיב (pit) as variant forms in the second and third classes.

Some words which are not from ע"ע stems follow the inflexion of this class (e.g. פֹּהֶם, עֵו). In OTA the MSS. of MT read פֶּם (mouth), but the supralinear MSS. have פֹּם, in accordance with the analogy of דֶּב, נֹב, &c.

D nouns. Words which remain unchanged when terminations are added to the stem are principally disyllables with a long vowel in the final syllable (e.g. אֶנֶשׁ, נֶשֶׁלֶם, נֶבֶר, עֵוִיר, נֶבֶר, נֶשֶׁלֶם), and monosyllables like תוֹר, יוֹם, טוֹר, and דֵּין. The unchangeable \bar{a} in the first group is equivalent to Hebrew \bar{o} (שָׁלוֹם, &c.).

E nouns. It is convenient to make nouns from stems final yodh or final waw a separate group. Words like טָלִי are chiefly substantives and those like סָגִי (OTA שָׁנָה, אָתָה) are participle forms (see § 30). Probably the orthography חִיוִי (Gen. 12. 11) is equivalent to חִוִּי (§ 2. 8).

F nouns. In this class are included all nouns with the terminations $\bar{a}i$ (= Hebrew \bar{i}) or \bar{e} added to a trilateral stem. Examples : קֶרְמִי (or קֶרְמָאִי, § 2. 1), רִבְיָעִי, תִּמְנִי. The long vowel of OTA (בִּשְׁנָדִי, רִבְיָעִי, קֶרְמִי) is also the pausal form of OJ (Gen. 1. 13, 19).

§ 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS (masculine types)

| PLURAL. | | | SINGULAR. | | | |
|--------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|---|
| <i>Emph.</i> | <i>Constr.</i> | <i>Absol.</i> | <i>Emph.</i> | <i>Constr.</i> | <i>Absol.</i> | |
| מְלָכִיָּא | מְלָכִי | מְלָכִין | מְלָכָא | מְלָךְ | מְלָךְ | A |
| בְּעָלִיָּא | בְּעָלִי | בְּעָלִין | בְּעָלָא | בְּעֵיל | בְּעֵיל | |
| נְדָרִיָּא | נְדָרִי | נְדָרִין | נְדָרָא | נְדָר | נְדָר | |
| נְהָרִיָּא | נְהָרִי | נְהָרִין | נְהָרָא | נְהָר | נְהָר | |
| לְבָבִיָּא | לְבָבִי | לְבָבִין | לְבָבָא | לְבָב | לְבָב | |
| עָלְמִיָּא | עָלְמִי | עָלְמִין | עָלְמָא | עָלִם | עָלִם | B |
| יְדִיָּא | יְדִי | יְדִין | יְדָא | יְד | יְד | |
| עֲזִיָּא | עֲזִי | עֲזִין | עֲזָא | עֲז | עֲז | C |
| גְּבָרִיָּא | גְּבָרִי | גְּבָרִין | גְּבָרָא | גְּבָר | גְּבָר | D |
| טְלִיָּא | טְלִי | טְלִין ¹ | טְלִיָּא | טְלִי | טְלִי | E |
| | טְלִי | טְלִין | | | | |
| סְנִיָּא | סְנִי | סְנִין ¹ | סְנִיָּא | סְנִי | סְנִי | |
| | | סְנִין | | | | |
| חֲזִיָּא | חֲזִי | חֲזִין | חֲזִיָּא | חֲזִי | חֲזִי | |
| עֲבָרִיָּא | | עֲבָרִין | עֲבָרִיָּא | | עֲבָרִי | F |
| עֲבָרִיָּא | | עֲבָרִין | עֲבָרָא | | | |
| בִּירְסוּתָא | בִּירְסוּת | בִּירְסוּן | בִּירְסִיָּא | בִּירְסִי | בִּירְסִי | |

¹ The accent in these plurals was probably placed on the *ā* and the ending may be pronounced as *ain*.

A nouns. 1*. Nouns of the A type retain or assume a monosyllabic form before inflexional endings. The usual vowels of these monosyllables are *ā*, *i*, and *u* (OTA *ō*). The mutation of the third radical of inflected forms in OTA—when the third radical is susceptible of mutation—shows that the preceding shewa is vocal (*a*) in the plural of nouns originally monosyllabic (מִלְכִּין), (*b*) in the singular and plural of nouns originally disyllabic (לִבְבָא, דִּבְבִּין). All the examples of the table above are treated according to this rule, although the Yemenite MSS. with supralinear punctuation do not indicate vocal shewa, except after a medial guttural, and even then not consistently (e.g. נִהָרָא, Gen. 2. 13, but נִהָרָא, Josh. 1. 4).

2. Under the influence of medial *p*, *b*, and *m* (labials) *u* is often substituted for *ā* and *i* in the monosyllabic stems of the first and second sub-classes, especially in PTM. Examples: רַמְשָׁא, גַּבְרָא, גַּפְנָא, דִּבְשָׁא. The absolute form גַּפֵּן, for גַּפֹּן, may be regarded as a secondary formation from the inflected stem *gufn*. In OTA the plural forms of גַּבְרָא are always גַּבְרִין, &c.

3. The vowel *i* is also frequently substituted for an original *ā*. Examples: בִּסְרָא, דִּכְרָא, מִטְרָא, שְׁמִשָּׁא, דִּבְחָא; OTA זְמַנָּא, בִּשְׁרָא, וְזַמְנָא, שְׁמִשָּׁא, גִּשְׁרִין, דִּבְחִין. The absolute form דִּיבַח (Exod. 12. 27) may be a secondary formation like גַּפֵּן. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of רִגְלָא is *i* in the supralinear MSS. of OTA and according to the Babylonian tradition (Kahle; cf. *Chrest.* 15. 9). The MT of Daniel and the Yemenite MSS. of OJ give *ā* (Josh. 5. 15, 14. 9).

4. In the *i* sub-class, nouns whose initial radical is a guttural generally retain hireq in the inflected forms. חֶלְמָא from חֶלֶם (dream), in the MT of Daniel and in some OJ MSS., may be due to Hebrew influence (cf. עֲגִלִּי, &c.). Hireq and seghol also interchange in the OTA group גִּשְׁמָה, גִּשְׁמִי, גִּשְׁמִי.

5. In the *u* sub-class, when holem occurs as the vowel of the inflected stem it may be understood to represent *ō* (§ 2. 1). Examples: אִוְרָחָא Gen. 38. 16, קִיבְעִין Exod. 28. 40, עִוְרָחָא Lev.

11. 15 (Dalman, p. 144). According to the punctuation of MT there are three examples of *š*-stems in OTA (Dan. 2. 37, 4. 12, 6. 20) and one of an *š*-stem (בְּתִלְיָא Ezra 5. 8). Similarly the feminine חֲכָמָא is written חֲכָמָה in MT and in some late MSS. of OJ. In Dan. 4. 34 and 5. 23 the supralinear punctuation is אֲרָחָה, and the MSS. of MT are divided between that and אֲרָחָה or אֲרָחָה. In OJ inflected forms like בְּעִינִי (Josh. 2. 6) for בְּעִי sometimes occur.

6*. In the supralinear MSS. of OJ nouns like בֵּית and עֵין, in the construct singular and in the inflected stems, nearly always have forms like בֵּיתָ (Dalman, p. 91, note 1). In MT construct singulars are like עֵין and inflected stems like עֵינִין, although the supralinear MSS. often substitute *ē* for *ai*, especially when pronominal suffixes are joined to the stem (see Strack's note on Dan. 4. 1). בְּתִין is the plural of בֵּית. חֵיל is used as an absolute form (Exod. 32. 12).

B nouns. 7*. The final stem vowel of nouns of the B class becomes vocal shewa when terminations are added to the stem. For some apparent exceptions see § 21, note 6.

C nouns. 8*. In nouns of the C class the final radical is doubled before inflexional endings and the stem vowel is normally *ā* or *ī* or *ū*, according to the vowel of the uninflected stem (עָפָא, אָפָא, אֻפָא). Before final resh the stem vowel is lengthened in compensation, when doubling does not take place (hence בָּרָא from בַּר (country)). Some nouns put *ī* for *ā* in the inflected forms (פָּת, פִּתָא). In OTA אֲשָׁא, from אָש, is unique (Dan. 7. 11); in OJ אֲשָׁא (fem. absolute) is also used.

9*. In OJ, although the stem vowel of the word כָּל with pronominal suffixes (§ 12, note 6) is always *ū*, the emphatic form is regularly כּוּלָא (Josh. 11. 19), pointed in Berliner's *Onkelos* sometimes with daghesh (Exod. 29. 24, Lev. 8. 27) and sometimes without (Gen. 6. 19, 20, 16. 12, Lev. 1. 9). In Lev. 8. 27 Berliner prints כּוּלָא. In OTA the MSS. of MT always have כָּלָא (five

times), and the supralinear MSS. agree (Dan. 4. 25). H^olem in this and similar words denotes a short vowel (§ 2. 1). The reading חוֹמָה (= חֹמָה) in Gen. 8. 22 (Dalman, p. 145) is an alternative to חֹמָה (cf. Berliner).

10*. In the later Yemenite MSS. of OJ Hebrew פֿֿל is represented by פֿֿל and Hebrew פֿל by פֿל. In Gen. 1-2 (Merx), Josh. 1-2, and Judg. 1-2 (Praetorius) the only exceptions to this rule are in Gen. 1. 30 and Judg. 2. 15. In OTA, MT has both פֿֿל and פֿל; generally the former. Strack's supralinear MSS. (except G, once) either insert no vowel or read פֿל.

11. Plurals of the form עֲמֻמִּין occur in OJ, PTM, and OTA (cf. § 35, note 4).

12. Erroneous dissimilation of the doubled consonant of the stem takes place in חֲנִינִין (Exod. 32. 19), from חֲנַן (cf. § 26, note 9). The form חֲנִינִין (Dan. 2. 46) is also a dissimilated form.

D nouns. 13*. In this class the absolute form and the inflected stem are identical. The inflected forms of the word שְׁלִים (Gen. 6. 9) seem, however, to be taken from a stem of the A class (שְׁלִמִין, &c.).

E nouns. 14*. When a termination is added to words of the E class the stem of words like טָלִי is either like טָלִי or an A stem, with yodh as the third radical, and the inflected stem of words like סָנִי is either like סָנִי or a B stem (see particulars in table above). In forms like סָנִיָּה and מִשְׁתִּיָּה, from מִשְׁתִּי, the shewa following the middle radical is vocal (§ 30, note 3). In טָלִיָּה it may be treated as silent, on the analogy of the originally monosyllabic A stems.

15*. סָנִי is contracted from טָלִין and סָנִין from סָנִין. Adjectives of the form טָלִי have contracted plurals of the form מָלִין (Deut. 6. 11). The only case of such an adjective in OTA has an uncontracted plural (שְׂרִין, Dan. 3. 25).

16. פִּירִין (Hebrew פִּירִי) is used in the plural only. For plurals in

āwān see note 21. Dalman (p. 192) regards the supralinear punctuation of absolute plurals like גִּדְיִין as incorrect.

17*. When E nouns employ an A stem (as in מְלִיץ) the vowel of the stem is usually *ā*, but sometimes *ī* or *ē* (OTA *ē*). Examples: רִחִי from רִחִי, פִּרְחִי from פִּרְחִי. The supralinear pathah of חִוּא in OJ may be interpreted as seghol, in agreement with OTA חִוּא (§ 2. 6).

18. Forms like חִוּי, חִוּא, with consonantal waw, are unusual. Most nouns ending in ו are feminine (רְבִי, בְּעִי) and are inflected according to the rules of § 11.

F nouns. 19*. In the inflected forms of *ai* stems the yodh of the termination is consonantal and the preceding vowel (in OJ) is lengthened. Instead of yodh, aleph is often written (cp. § 23, note 9). The emphatic plural termination is contracted from *aiya* to *ē* (י.. or א..). The inflected forms of stems terminating in *ē* (פִּרְמִי, פִּרְמִי) are treated like those of פִּרְמִי (E class).

EF nouns. 20. A few words from stems with final yodh are treated like nouns of the F class in OJ (Dalman, p. 156 *ε*) and OTA (עֲנִין, Dan. 4. 24, from עֲנִי). See also § 12, note 8.

21*. Some words of the E and F classes have plurals in *āwān* or *ēwān*, with or without retention of consonantal yodh. Examples: אֲרִי, פִּרְסִי, רִעִי, אֲסִי (cf. § 8, note 11 and § 30, note 2).

OTA. 22. The general rules for the inflexion of nouns given in this section apply to OTA. As the E class is very slightly represented there it may be passed over by those who begin their Aramaic reading in OTA. For these the most important notes in this section are 1, 7, 8, 13, and 19, along with 3, 6, and 9 for some details.

§ II.* INFLEXION OF NOUNS (with feminine endings)

| PLURAL. | | | SINGULAR. | | | |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| <i>Emphat.</i> | <i>Const.</i> | <i>Absol.</i> | <i>Emphat.</i> | <i>Const.</i> | <i>Absol.</i> | |
| מִלְכָּתָא | מִלְכַּת | מִלְכָּן | מִלְכָּתָא | מִלְכַּת | מִלְכָּא | A |
| בְּנִשְׁתָּא | בְּנִשְׁת | בְּנִשְׁן | בְּנִשְׁתָּא | בְּנִשְׁת | בְּנִשְׁא | |
| אַמְרָתָא | אַמְרַת | אַמְרָן | אַמְרָתָא | אַמְרַת | אַמְרָא | B |
| מִלְיָא | מִלְי | מִלְיָן | מִלְיָתָא | מִלְיַת | מִלְיָא | C |
| מְגִירָתָא | מְגִירַת | מְגִירָן | מְגִירָתָא | מְגִירַת | מְגִירָא | D |
| חִיּוּתָא | חִיּוּת | חִיּוּן | חִיּוּתָא | חִיּוּת | חִיּוּא | |
| טְלִיחָא | טְלִיחַת | טְלִיחָן | טְלִיחָתָא OJ | טְלִיחַת | טְלִיחָא | E |
| | | | טְלִיחָתָא PTM | | | |
| סְנִיתָא | סְנִית | סְנִיתָן | סְנִיתָא | סְנִית | סְנִיתָא | |
| גְּלוּתָא | גְּלוּת | גְּלוּתָן | גְּלוּתָא | גְּלוּת | גְּלוּ | |
| צְלוּתָא | צְלוּת | צְלוּתָן | צְלוּתָא | צְלוּת | צְלוּ | |
| מְנוּתָא | מְנוּת | מְנוּתָן | מְנוּתָא | מְנוּת | מְנוּת | |
| עֲבְרִיתָא | — | עֲבְרִיתָן | עֲבְרִיתָא | — | עֲבְרִיתָא | F |
| | | | עֲבְרִיתָא | — | עֲבְרִיתָא | |
| זְרַעִיתָא | זְרַעִית | זְרַעִיתָן | זְרַעִיתָא | זְרַעִית | זְרַעִי | G |
| מִלְכּוּתָא | מִלְכּוּת | מִלְכּוּתָן | מִלְכּוּתָא | מִלְכּוּת | מִלְכּוּ | |

Aramaic of OJ and PTM

1. The stem syllables of nouns to which the feminine ending *ā* is attached are treated in accordance with the rules of § 10. There are, therefore, six classes of feminine nouns corresponding to the classes of § 9. In the E class nouns having final consonantal waw are numerous and several types of absolute singular are in use (see

Table). Abstract feminine nouns having an ending in \bar{e} or \bar{u} are treated as a separate class (G). The rules of § 10 sufficiently explain the forms of classes A–D and F, except those of the emphatic singular, which, therefore, receive special notice in what follows.

A nouns. 2. The emphatic singular ending of the A class is usually תָּא , joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples: מִלְכָּתָא , נִשְׁמָתָא , בְּרִפְתָּא . תָּא is added to the stem $\text{קָטַל$ in the case of some nouns having stems originally disyllabic (parallel to Hebrew words like צִדְקָה). Examples (from Dalman): צִדְקָתָא , נִדְבָתָא , אֲדָמָתָא , צִוְחָתָא , קְנִישָׁתָא (absolute קְנִישָׁא). Berliner's *Onkelos* gives עֲנִלָּתָא (Deut. 21. 4, 6) for 'calf' (from עֲנָלָא), as well as for 'wagon' (Num. 7. 3, from עֲנָלָא). The emphatic sing. fem. of הָרַת (= הָרָשׁ) is הָרַתָּא .

The absolute singular feminine of a stem originally disyllabic is distinguished in OTA from a stem originally monosyllabic by the vocal shewa following the middle radical (בְּרִבֵּה , Dan. 2. 9), and this analogy may be followed in reading OJ and PTM (cf. § 10, note 1). In all feminine plurals of the A class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal (§ 10, note 1).

B nouns. 3. In this class the emphatic ending is תָּא and is joined to the absolute stem of § 9 (אִמְרָתָא , יְלִידָתָא , יְחִיבָתָא —see under D nouns, below). But the emphatic form of בָּרָא 'daughter', is בְּרִתָּא , and that of שָׁנָא 'year', is שָׁתָא .

C nouns. 4. In the C class תָּא is joined to the stem used by all the inflected forms. מָלָא , like many feminine nouns, has plurals of the masculine form. שִׁנָּא 'sleep', although not from an ע"ע stem, is inflected like words of this group (שָׁנָתָא , &c.)

D nouns. 5. With unchangeable stems the emphatic ending, according to the supralinear punctuation, is usually תָּא (דִּרְתָּא , תְּקִיפָתָא , שְׁבוּעָתָא , עֲבִידָתָא , בִּיעָתָא , שְׁעָתָא). תָּא is used only with a few disyllabic stems whose final vowel is \bar{e} or \bar{u} (שְׁפִילָתָא , גִּנוּבָתָא , מָהוּלָתָא). יְלִידָתָא and יְחִיבָתָא belong rather to the B class.

Certain nouns, which might be expected to belong to the A class, have forms of the D type (שְׂאִילָא, שְׂאִילָתָא; פְּגִישָׁא, פְּגִישָׁתָא; נְבִילָא, נְבִילָתָא; נְבִילָא, נְבִילָתָא), although not exclusively (cf. נְבִילָתָא, Lev. 5. 2, and לְבָנִין, Exod. 5. 7). All have close parallels in Hebrew.

E nouns. 6. There is considerable variety in the inflected forms of feminine nouns of this declension. In the טְלִיא group yodh is always consonantal in OJ and the stem resembles that of the A declension. In PTM quiescence of the yodh takes place in the emphatic sing. (see Table). In the פְּגִי group, both in OJ and PTM, yodh quiesces in the construct and emphatic of the singular.

A few nouns have consonantal waw in the singular. Examples: רַעְוָא (Gen. 4. 5) and קְרָוָא or קְרָיָא 'city' (emphatic קְרָתָא, plural קְרָוִין). A larger number have consonantal waw in the plural only. For the various forms of the absolute singular and for their inflexions see table of nouns above. Other examples of the group are מִיבִי, וְכִי, קָצַת, רִשִׁי, רְבִי, וְכִי. The rare absolute sing. of the word used in OJ for Hebrew עֹלָה seems to be עֲלָא (Isai. 40. 16). The construct is עֲלָתָא (Lev. 9. 17, Merx), the emphatic עֲלָתָא (Josh. 22. 23, Judg. 6. 26) and the plural עֲלָתָא (Mic. 6. 6, Merx). Berliner's עֲלָתָא &c. are erroneous. Cf. Syriac and OTA (note 11).

In all feminine plurals of the E class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal, according to the analogy of § 10, note 1.

F nouns. 7. After the diphthong *āi* the emphatic termination is $\bar{\eta}$, with mutated ת, but without vocal shewa preceding. Usually the vowel before $\bar{\eta}$ is $\bar{\epsilon}$. Supralinear plurals like עֲבָרִיתָא Dalman (p. 79) treats as erroneous.

עֲוִיָּא (= Hebrew עֵוִי) generally, and perhaps always, used in the plural (עֲוִיָּו, &c.), is a feminine noun similar to the OTA masculine forms עֲנִי and פְּתִי (§ 10, note 20).

G nouns. 8. The vowel terminations of the singular are replaced by consonantal yodh or waw in the plural (see Table). The mutation of the third radical in the plural is a peculiar feature.

Old Testament Aramaic

A, B, and C nouns. 9. The inflexion of feminine nouns in OTA is the same as in OJ, except in the emphatic singular of nouns of the D class.

There is only one OTA example of the ending תָּא in the A class, viz. יְבִשְׁתָּא (Dan. 2. 10). It appears in the supralinear punctuation of OJ as יְבִשְׁתָּא (Gen. 1. 9) or יְבִשְׁתָּא (§ 2. 6). Emphatic singulars of the B and C classes are אֲנִיתָא (Ezra 4. 11), רַבְתָּא (Dan. 4. 27), and מַלְתָּא (Dan. 2. 8).

D nouns. 10. In MT all words having unchangeable disyllabic stems receive תָּא as their emphatic singular ending (עֲבִידְתָּא , שְׂאֵלְתָּא , נְבוֹרְתָּא , יְקָרְתָּא ¹, מְרַרְתָּא , &c.). The two words having unchangeable monosyllabic stems, חֵייתָא (Dan. 4. 11) and בִּירְתָּא (Ezra 6. 2), both receive the emphatic ending תָּא (for the reading בִּירְתָּא see Ginsburg and Strack). MT שְׁעֵתָא (Dan. 3. 6, &c.), although supported by some supralinear MSS., should be corrected into שְׁעֵתָּא and included in the D class.

E nouns. 11. There are very few inflected forms of the E class in OTA. קְרִיתָא (Ezra 4. 12) and עֲרוֹת (Ezra 4. 14) belong to the טְלִיָּא group, שְׁנִיָּא (Dan. 7. 3) to the סְנִיָּא (גְּלִיָּא) group, and עֲלִוָּא (Ezra 6. 9) to the מְנָת group. בְּנָת , from בְּנָת , occurs several times with pronominal suffixes. גְּלִיתָא (Dan. 2. 25), from גְּלִי , is also a noun of this declension.

F nouns. 12. Before the emphatic singular ending, instead of $\bar{a}i$, as in קְרִמִּיתָא (Dan. 7. 4), רַבִּיעִיתָא (Dan. 7. 19), some MSS. read $\bar{a}i$ (cf. note 7). Shewa after $\bar{a}i$ is silent (note 7) in spite of metheg (קְרִמִּיתָא). עֻיָּא (see note 7) occurs once in the plural with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 4. 24).

G nouns. 13. מְשֻׁרוֹקִיתָא (Dan. 3. 5) is an inflected form of the \bar{i} group and מַלְכוֹתָא (Dan. 2. 44) an example of the \bar{u} group.

¹ If reckoned a participle, this word comes under the rule of the B class.

§ 12. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with singular nouns)

1*. For the usual forms of the suffixes in OJ and PTM see § 4 and for those of OTA see paradigm, p. 93.

2*. **אֲבִי**, **אִמִּי**, and **חִמִּי** with pronominal suffixes are treated as follows:

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----|
| אֲבִיָּהָא | אִמִּיָּהָא | אֲבִיָּהֶיךָ | אֲבִיָּהֶךָ | אֲבִיָּי | |
| | | אֲבִיָּהֶיךָ | | | |
| אֲבִיָּהֶיךָ | אֲבִיָּהֶיךָ | אֲבִיָּהֶיךָ | אֲבִיָּהֶיךָ | אֲבִיָּהֶיךָ | OJ |
| | | | | אֲבִיָּהֶיךָ | PTM |

The suffixes **הִי**, **הָא**, **נָן**, **נָא**, and **יָי** are all unaccented. Regarding the first three see further § 13, note 2. **יָי** is said to have been preferred by the school of Sura and **יָי** (2 s. f.) by the school of Nehardea (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 62 f.) The former is given by Merx (Gen. 24. 23) and in Berliner's *Onkelos* (Gen. 20. 16, 38. 11), the latter in Praetorius (Judg. 14. 15, Josh. 2. 18) and Lagarde (2 Sam. 6. 21, 13. 17).

3. For **אֲבִי** OJ uses **אֲבִיָּהָא** (Gen. 44. 32, Judg. 14. 16, 1 Kings 2. 32, cf. Rom. 8. 15, *ἀββᾶ*). **אֲבִיָּהָא** 'my mother' is a similar form (Judg. 14. 16). Dalman explains the ending as originally *ā*, from an older *ai*, and so as really the pronominal suffix for 'my'. In Dan. 5. 13 **אֲבִי** (MT) may originally have meant **אֲבִיָּהָא** (§ 2. 7), which is the reading of the supralinear MSS. **אֲבִיָּהָא** is sometimes contracted into **אֲבִי** (*Chrest.* 18. 12).

A nouns. 4*. The stems of masculine nouns with pronominal suffixes attached are generally formed according to the rules of § 10, with some slight modifications.

In the A class the distinction between **מִלְכָּא** and **לְבָבָא** is paralleled by the distinction between **מִלְכִּי** and **לְבָבִי**. Before heavy suffixes, words ending in a guttural or resh commonly use a stem of the קָטַל type. E. g. **אֲרַעְהוֹן** (Josh. 10. 42), **בְּסִרְכוֹן** (Judg. 8. 7), but also **בְּסִרְכוֹן** (Judg. 9. 2).

The statement of § 10, note 6, applies also to stems with suffixes attached (hence OJ בִּיתִיָּה, OTA בִּיתִיָּה). In Dan. 4. 1 the MSS. are divided between בִּיתִי and בִּיתִי. For לִית with suffixes see § 15, notes 2 and 3.

B nouns. 5*. In the B class the stem vowel of the final syllable is retained before heavy suffixes and becomes vocal shewa before light suffixes. Examples: מִיִּמְרֵהוֹן, מִיִּמְרֵהוֹן, יָדִי, יָדֵהוֹן (OTA יָדֵהֶם).

C nouns. 6*. The supralinear orthography represented by בּוֹלִיָּה is normal, although the vowel *u* is short (§ 2. 1). In OTA בּוֹל with suffixes has *o* as its stem vowel (Dan. 2. 38, 7. 19), while all other words of this class have *u*.

E nouns. 7*. In the E class words like מְלִי use their emphatic stem before all suffixes. In the *u* sub-class the later Yemenite MSS. sometimes make the vowel of the inflected stem *o*, as in MT (Dan. 4. 9). Examples: מְלִי, מְלִיָּהוֹן, מְלִי, חֲלִי (Judg. 9. 11), עֲפִיָּה (Dan. 4. 9). Participle forms like כָּנִי and nouns like מְשִׁתִּי and מְשִׁרִי either employ their emphatic stem (מְשִׁתִּיָּה, מְשִׁרִיָּה) or, more generally, are treated as plural nouns are (§ 13, note 7). For participles see further § 30, note 4.

F nouns. 8. Words from stems final yodh that belong to the F class (§ 10, note 20) like דְּוִי (OJ) and פְּתִי (OTA), have suffixed forms like דְּוִיָּה (Gen. 35. 18, Dalman) and פְּתִיָּה (Dan. 3. 1). Nouns like בִּירְסִי with suffixes are treated as plural nouns (§ 13, note 7).

Feminine stems. 9*. Feminine nouns to which pronominal suffixes are attached may be arranged in three divisions, according as the termination of the emphatic singular is תָּא, תָּה, or תָּא.

(1) Nouns that use the ending תָּא join suffixes to the emphatic stem (צִדְקָתְכוֹן, אֲמָרְתִּי).

(2) In the case of nouns whose emphatic ending is תָּה, light suffixes are united to the emphatic stem and heavy suffixes to the construct stem (מְלִתִּי, מְלִתְהוֹן; מְלִתִּי, מְלִתְהוֹן; עֲבִדְתִּי, עֲבִדְתְּהוֹן; מְלִיָּתִי, מְלִיָּתְהוֹן).

- (3) Nouns of the E, F, and G classes, whose emphatic ending is **תָּא**, add suffixes to the emphatic or construct stems, which are the same (**מִלְכֹּתַי**, **מִנְתָּהוֹן**, **גְּלִיתִיה**). For examples of F nouns see § 29, note 9.

10. **שְׁנֵתָה** (Dan. 6. 19) may be regarded as a noun of the C class, rather than as derived from an absolute form **שְׁנָא** (cf. § 11, note 4).

Feminine suffixes. 11. The supralinear MSS. of OJ generally write the suffixes of the 2 plur. masc. and of the 3 plur. masc. instead of the corresponding feminine forms (Dalman). The same substitution is often made in PTM.

§ 13. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with masc. plur. stems).

| PLURAL SUFFIXES. | | SINGULAR SUFFIXES. | |
|------------------|----------|--------------------|-----------------|
| PTM | OJ | PTM | OJ |
| יָנַּ | נָא_ | אֵ, אִ | אֵ 1 com. |
| יָכֹנַּ | יָכֹנַּ | יָהּ, יָהּ | יָהּ 2 masc. |
| יָכִיןַּ | יָכִיןַּ | יָהּ, יָהּ | יָהּ, יָהּ fem. |
| | | | יָהּ, יָהּ |
| יָהֹןַּ | יָהֹןַּ | יָהּ, יָהּ | יָהּ 3 masc. |
| יָהִיןַּ | יָהִיןַּ | יָהּ, יָהּ, יָהּ | יָהּ fem. |

Suffix forms. 1*. **אֵ**, **יָהּ**, and **יָכִיןַּ** are simply orthographical variants for **אֵ**, **יָהּ**, and **יָכִיןַּ**. For **יָכִיןַּ** and **יָהּ** see § 2. 14. **אֵ** is an alternative in OJ for **אֵ** (see § 29, note 8).

2*. The 'connective vowel' of these pronominal suffixes was originally the plural ending *ai*, which in a majority of cases has become *ē* or *ă* or *ā*. The connective *ō* of **יָהּ** is explained either as a nominative plural ending = *au* (Barth) or as a dissimilation from *ai* (Dalman). The terminations **יָכִיןַּ**, **יָהּ**, and **יָהּ** were originally used with singular as well as with plural stems (§ 4, note 2, § 12, note 2). The contracted forms of 3 sing. masc. and 3 sing. fem. are charac-

teristic of PTM. נִן is a reduplicated ending found also in Syriac. The suffix ל is used by PTM in רַבָּנָן 'our teachers'.

3. In OTA the Kethibh implies the earlier pronunciations יָיִ , יֵי , and יָיִ , which the Qere alters into יָיִ , יֵי , and יָיִ respectively. See paradigm, p. 93.

4*. It may be observed that several of the *ai* suffixes attached to plural stems are identical with the suffix forms attached to singular nouns (יָיִ , יֵי , יָיִ). Unvocalized יֵי in PTM, when joined to a masc. plural stem means 'her', and to a singular stem 'his'.

Plural stems. 5*. Most of the plural stems of § 10 are also used when pronominal suffixes are joined to plurals (e.g. מִלְכָּנָא , יָיִ , יָיִ). Only the מִלְכָּנָא group of E nouns employs with suffixes as its plural stem a stem identical with that of the emphatic singular (מִלְכָּנָא). In other E nouns *ai* suffixes are joined directly to the ordinary plural stem (מִלְכָּנָא , יָיִ). In Dan. 2. 32 this treatment is extended to the form מִלְכָּנָא , although presumably its uninflected singular is מִלְכָּנָא , as in OJ.

6. For 'they two' OJ always uses מִלְכָּנָא (Gen. 2. 25), instead of מִלְכָּנָא , and PTM sometimes has the same form (cf. § 8, note 15).

Singular stems like plurals. 7*. The direct combination of pronominal suffixes with the singular ending \bar{e} of certain nouns of the E class, like מִשְׁתִּי and מִשְׁרִי , produces a set of *ai* suffixes, which are precisely the same as those attached to plural stems. This makes the singular and plural forms of such nouns frequently indistinguishable (מִשְׁרִי , מִשְׁרִי). For the case of participles see § 30, note 4, and for infinitives § 29, note 8. Certain F nouns, like בִּירְכִי , are also combined with suffixes in the manner of plural stems.

8. מָרִי 'master', with suffixes employs a stem with consonantal yodh (מָרִי , *Chrest.*, p. 23, note 1), or a contracted stem with the suffixes of § 12 (מָרִי , Exod. 21. 29, מָרִי , Dan. 4. 16, 21) or a contracted stem with the suffixes of this section (מָרִי , Exod. 21. 34).

In the K^{ethibh} form מֵרָאִי (Dan. 4. 16, 21) אִי might represent *ai* (§ 2.1) but probably א stands for consonantal yodh (§ 23, n. 9).

9*. Prepositions that originally ended in *ē*, for that reason take *ai* suffixes (עָלַי, עָלֶיךָ, &c.), and other prepositions do so by analogy (בְּתַרִּי, בְּקֶדְמִי). In OTA עָלֵינָא or עָלֵינָא (Ezra 4. 12, &c.), an old form of the suffix נָא_, is preserved (cf. note 3).

Fem. plur. suffixes. 10. The observations of § 12, note 11, apply also to the suffixes added to plural stems.

§ 14*. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with fem. plur. stems).

BORROWED *ai* SUFFIXES.

NORMAL SUFFIXES.

| PTM | OJ | OJ and PTM | |
|--------------|-------------|----------------|----------------------|
| | אִמְרָתִי | אִמְרָתְנָא OJ | אִמְרָתִי 1 com. |
| | | אִמְרָתֵן PTM | |
| אִמְרָתִיכֹן | — | אִמְרָתְכוֹן | אִמְרָתְךָ 2 masc. |
| | אִמְרָתְךָ | — | אִמְרָתֶיךָ fem. |
| אִמְרָתִיהֹן | אִמְרָתֹהִי | אִמְרָתְהֹן | אִמְרָתֵיהֶן 3 masc. |
| | אִמְרָתְהָ | — | אִמְרָתֶיהָ fem. |

The normal suffixes added to feminine plural stems are identical with those added to singular stems and the noun form employed is the construct or the emphatic stem, which are the same. The Hebrew practice of combining with feminine plural stems the suffixes appropriate to masc. plural stems, and derived from them (אִדְרָקוֹתֵי, &c.) is occasionally followed in OJ and PTM (for particulars see Table above). Dalman gives the order of frequency of occurrence of these borrowed *ai* suffixes in OJ as: (1) 3 sing. fem., (2) 1 sing., (3) 3 sing. masc. יָ for יֵ occurs only once or twice, in the Targum of Jonathan (Dalman, p. 205 f.). In Dan. 2. 23 some MSS. read אִבְהָתֵי for אִבְהָתִי (§ 8, note 12), and this is the only exception to the general rule in OTA.

§ 15. לִית, אִית, ETC.

Forms. 1. Both in OJ (Lev. 11. 26) and PTM (25. ii. 12) לֹא לִית occurs for לִית. In OTA the forms used are אִיתִי and לֹא אִיתִי.

Subject pronouns. 2. In PTM the subject pronouns of these particles are in the nominative forms (e.g. לִית הוּא). לִית coalesces with the pronouns of the 1 sing. and 1 plur. and 3 plur. into the compounds לִינָא, לִינָן, and לִיתַנָּן.

3. In OJ the subject pronouns are generally expressed by suffixes, except in the 3 person plural. The suffixes are *ai* suffixes, because of the original ending of the particles (cf. § 13, note 7, and OTA אִיתִי). In the 1 person singular the ending *ai* has become *ā* and the suffix adopts an accusative form (§ 36, note 1). Examples: אִיתִיכֹן, אִיתוּהִי, אִיתִנִּי. The inflected stem of לִית has two forms, as in לִיתוּהִי and לִיתוּהִי. In the latter the shewa following yodh is vocal (Dalman, p. 108). The nominative form of the pronoun of the 3 person plural coalesces with לִית, as in PTM (לִיתַנָּן). The nominatives of other persons are also sometimes used in OJ (Deut. 1. 9 לִית אֲנָא יִבָּל).

4. In OTA the subject pronouns of אִיתִי are expressed by means of suffixes of the *ai* form (אִיתִיכֹן, &c.).

Usages. 5. אִית and לִית express 'there is' and 'there are' (there is not, there are not); e.g. אִית הָכָא חַד יְהוּדִי 'there is here a Jew' (20. 9). They are regularly combined with לִי, לָךְ, &c., to express the verb 'have'; e.g. אֵין לִית לָךְ פְּרִיטִין 'if you have no money' (15. 9). Sometimes אִית may be rendered by 'it is', e.g. לֹא אִית בְּחִילִי 'it is not in my power' (25. ii. 12). In OJ לִית is used absolutely, like Hebrew אֵין (Gen. 5. 24, 37. 30).

6. With a predicate, which may be a noun, adjective, or participle, these particles are equivalent to the English copula; e.g. לִית מֶלֶךְ אֲנָא 'I am not a king' (20. 10), לִית בֵּיתָא דְּרִין תְּרַב, 'this house will not be destroyed' (20. 12). A subject noun or pronoun follows (לִית), except in relative sentences or for the sake of emphasis.

Before prepositional phrases, where אִית may also be translated 'is', it really has the sense of 'there is' or 'there exists', e.g. כָּל מָה דְאִית בֵּיה 'everything that is (there is) in it' (26. 14; cf. Dan. 2. 30).

§ 16. VERBAL STEMS

REFLEXIVE AND PASSIVE.

ACTIVE.

| | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-------------|-------|-----------|
| אִתְּכַתִּיב | Ithpeel | כַּתֵּב | Peal | Simple |
| אִתְּכַתֵּב | Ithpaal | כַּתִּיב | Pael | Intensive |
| אִתְּכַתֵּב | Ittaphal | אִתְּכַתֵּב | Aphel | Causative |

1*. The stems having preformative *ilh* are reflexives, which serve also as passives.

2*. The Pael, Aphel, and Ithpeel of verbs final ה, ח, and ע take pathah for sere in the final syllable. For other variations caused by the influence of gutturals see § 23.

Peal. 3*. Peal perfects with \bar{e} or \bar{u} in the final syllable, principally intransitive, occur especially in OJ. Examples: חֲזָקָה 'be strong' (Gen. 1. 28) or 'be angry' (Gen. 4. 5), דָּחִיל (Gen. 3. 10), קָרִיב (Gen. 12. 1), שָׂאִיל (Judg. 1. 1), שָׁלִים (Gen. 15. 16), נָסֵב and נָסִיב (Gen. 2. 21); דָּמָה and דָּמוֹה (Gen. 2. 21). \bar{o} occurs for \bar{u} (מָרֹד, Kahle, p. 219) and \bar{i} for \bar{e} , especially in pause (Dalman, pp. 54 f., 257). In OTA \bar{e} and \bar{i} both occur, the latter generally in pause (תִּקַּף, שָׂאֵל, קָרֵב). Where MT has \bar{i} the supralinear MSS. sometimes have \bar{e} (Dan. 6. 21, וָעַק).

Haphel. 4*. Haphels sometimes take the place of Aphels in PTM and OJ. The only examples in OJ are הִדָּע, הִימִין, and הוֹפֵעַ (Dalman). For OTA Haphels see note 11.

5. In הִימִין, which is borrowed from Hebrew, the final vowel is \bar{i} (Gen. 45. 26—Berliner) or \bar{e} (Gen. 15. 6—Berliner). Supralinear MSS. give both הִימִין (Dalman, p. 302, note 2) and הִימִין (Merx). In Dan. 6. 24 the sublinear vowel is \bar{i} and the supralinear is \bar{e} .

Ith forms. 6*. The Ithp^{el} and Ithpaal of verbs initial dental and sibilant are modified as follows

(a) ת of the prefix is assimilated to a following ת, ט, or ד (thus אִתְּדַבֵּר becomes אִדְבֵּר).

(b) ת changes places with a following sibilant and after צ and ז becomes ט and ד respectively. Examples: אִצְטַמַּע, אִצְטַמְּרָה, אִזְדַּרַּע.

Ittaphal forms are not affected (אִתְּסַהֲרָה, Exod. 21. 29).

7. In PTM assimilation of ת to פ, ב, מ, נ and other consonants takes place occasionally. Examples: אִתְּפַסֵּי = אִתְּפַסִּי = אִתְּפִי, אִתְּבַרֵּי = אִתְּבַרִּי = אִתְּבִי, אִתְּנַשְׁמַח = אִתְּנַשְׁמַח = אִתְּנִי (21. 4), אִתְּמַלִּיךְ = אִתְּמַלִּיךְ = אִתְּמִיךְ (28. 4). Dalman compares ἐφφάθα (Mark 7. 34) = אִתְּפַתַּח (§ 19, note 5). Cf. also *Chrest.* 4. 19, מִתְּקַנִּיָּה = מִתְּקַנִּיָּה.

8. In the supralinear vocalization an intrusive vowel frequently appears after preformative אַת, in the perfect and other tenses (אַתִּימַנַּע).

Shaphel, &c. 9*. Shaphel causative forms are found. The most frequent are שִׁכְּלִיל 'complete' (passive אִשְׁתַּכְּלַל, Gen. 2. 1), שִׁעְבִּיר 'subdue' (Gen. 12. 5), שִׁיּוּב 'rescue' (Gen. 37. 21), שִׁיּוּ 'finish' (Gen. 2. 2). See § 26, note 6.

10. Less common forms are the Pō'ēl and Pā'ēl (both = Arabic iii), with their passives (e.g. זָמִין, Gen. 24. 14). The Pōlēl, Pālēl, and Palpēl are formed from stems ע"י and ע"ע (§ 32, note 7, § 34, note 2).

OTA. 11. OTA instead of Ittaphals uses Hophals and a perfect passive Peal, of the form Pe'il, especially in the 3 person (יְהִיבֹת. Dan. 5. 28; יְהִיבִי, Ezra 5. 14; cf. אִתְּהִידַת, *Chrest.* 1. 8). Haphels for Aphels and preformative הַת for אַת are both normal in OTA, though not universal. With אִשְׁתְּהוּמַם (Dan. 4. 16) the Syriac forms having preformative אַת may be compared.

12. Where OJ has ē in the final syllable (Pael, Aphel, Ithp^{el}) OTA sometimes has ē and sometimes ī. It is difficult to make

a general statement on the subject, or to frame an accurate paradigm, because of the paucity of material. The following review includes all perfects, imperfects, imperatives, and participles of verbs other than those ל"א (§ 27), which agree with OJ, and ע"י and ע"ע (§§ 32 and 34), which exhibit the vowels \bar{e} and \bar{i} in nearly equal proportion. In the PAEL perfect, examples of \bar{i} number four, against one of \bar{e} (Dan. 6. 1); in the imperf. and partic. there is one example of both on each side, of the imperat. no cases at all. In the HAPHEL the perfect (three examples) and the imperative (two examples) have \bar{e} (excluding הִימִין, note 5), in the imperfect there are two cases of \bar{i} and two of \bar{e} (viz. הִהוּר and פִּתַּח), in the participle two cases of \bar{i} . In the HITHP^eEL there are no cases of the perfect or imperative, in the imperfect there are four examples of \bar{i} and one of \bar{e} , and in the participle two examples of \bar{e} . The extent of the influence exercised by pause on these forms is very uncertain. For intransitive Peal perfects see note 3.

§ 17. PERFECT TENSES

| PAEL. | | PeAL. | |
|------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| PTM | OJ | OJ | PTM OJ |
| | פְּתִיב | דְּמוּד | פְּתַב 3 s. m. |
| | פְּתִיבַת | דְּמוּבַת | פְּתַבַת f. |
| | פְּתִיבַת -תָּא | דְּמוּבַת -תָּא | פְּתַבַת -תָּא 2 s. m. |
| | פְּתִיבָה | דְּמוּבָה | פְּתַבָה f. |
| | פְּתִיבִית | דְּמוּבִית | פְּתַבִּית 1 sing. |
| פְּתִיבִין | פְּתִיבוּ | דְּמוּבוּ | פְּתַבִּין 3 pl. m. |
| פְּתִיבִין | פְּתִיבֵא | דְּמוּבֵא | פְּתַבֵּא f. |
| | פְּתִיבִיתִין | דְּמוּבִיתִין | פְּתַבִּיתִין 2 pl. m. |
| | פְּתִיבִיתִין | דְּמוּבִיתִין | פְּתַבִּיתִין f. |
| פְּתִיבִין | פְּתִיבֵנָא | דְּמוּבֵנָא | פְּתַבֵּנָא 1 plur. |

Table. 1*. The table represents the inflexion of all perfects, in \bar{a} , \bar{e} , and \bar{u} . The analogy of OTA (note 6) suggests that the supralinear 3 s. f. should be pronounced פְּתַבְּת rather than פְּתַבְּת (§ 2. 6).

Endings. 2*. The distinctive ending פְּתַבְּת is more common in OJ than in PTM (Dalman) and is predominant in OTA (פְּתַבְּת).

3*. The PTM plural endings $\bar{u}n$ and $\bar{a}n$ are borrowed from the imperf. tense, to which they properly belong. \bar{u} and \bar{a} also occur in PTM.

4. In PTM פְּתַבְּת occurs for פְּתַבְּת and פְּתַבְּת for פְּתַבְּת, especially in Aphels. The \bar{e} may have been transferred from the final syllable of the Aphel (Pael) stem. Dalman suggests the influence of the forms of § 21, note 7. Examples: פְּתַבְּת (25. 5), פְּתַבְּת (23. 9). The form פְּתַבְּת (19. ii. 9) = פְּתַבְּת + פְּתַבְּת.

Accent. 5*. In OJ only the 2 plur. terminations are accented; in OTA the 2 plur., 3 s. f. (Syriac type—see note 6) and the 1 sing.; in PTM at least the 2 and 3 plur. terminations and possibly, like OTA, the 3 s. f. and 1 sing.

OTA. 6. In OTA the 3 s. f. has two forms, one of the OJ type and the other resembling the Syriac form. The former occurs in two Peals (פְּתַבְּת, פְּתַבְּת) and in the few cases there are of Hithpael (פְּתַבְּת) and Haphel (פְּתַבְּת) forms. The latter occurs in three Peals (פְּתַבְּת) and in two of three Hophals (פְּתַבְּת). In the Peal, Pael, and Hophal the 1 sing. has a form that resembles the Syriac (פְּתַבְּת, פְּתַבְּת). In the Haphel, besides פְּתַבְּת (§ 33), only פְּתַבְּת (Dan. 2. 25) occurs. The form resembles that of OJ and perhaps its vocalization, which is also that of a 3 s. f. perfect, should be פְּתַבְּת (as פְּתַבְּת) or פְּתַבְּת (as in supralinear MSS.). The supralinear MSS. of OTA have a larger proportion of OJ forms than MT in the 3 s. f. perfect, but they do not wholly eliminate the Syriac type. The absence of vowels in the texts of PTM leaves it uncertain how far they agree with the forms of OJ and how far with those of OTA.

Syntax. 7. In PTM the 2 pl. masc. form is always used for the 2 pl. fem. and frequently the 3 pl. m. for the 3 pl. f. (Dalman).

8. In PTM and OTA perfect tenses alternate with participles in narratives regarding the past (cf. § 21), and the use of successive sentences unconnected by conjunctions (asyndeton) is characteristic, especially of PTM. OJ follows the Hebrew text in its use of conjunctions. The perfect is used to express unfulfilled conditions after אִין (26. 18) and אִלִּי (21. 11, 24. 1, 27. 12) and sometimes also as the tense of the following apodosis (21. 11), but not generally (see § 22, note 2f).

§ 18. IMPERFECT TENSES

PAEL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR. SING.

יִכְתְּבוּ יִכְתִּיב

יִכְתְּבוּ יִכְתִּיב

יִכְתְּבוּ יִכְתִּיב

יִכְתְּבוּ יִכְתְּבוּ

יִכְתִּיב יִכְתִּיב

PEAL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR. SING.

יִכְתְּבוּ יִכְתֹּב 3 masc.

יִכְתְּבוּ יִכְתֹּב fem.

יִכְתְּבוּ יִכְתֹּב 2 masc.

יִכְתְּבוּ יִכְתְּבוּ fem.

יִכְתֹּב יִכְתֹּב 1 m. and f.

Stem vowels. 1*. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is rarely \bar{e} , except in the case of verbs final aleph or yodh (יִעֲבִיר, יִחַי, יִחַי). Pathah is not usual in the imperf. Peal of intransitive verbs. For verbs final guttural see § 23. The occasional use of \bar{u} for \bar{o} and of \bar{i} for \bar{e} may originally have been limited to pausal forms, where it is found with special frequency (Deut. 16. 29).

2*. The stem vowels of other imperf. than the Peal agree with the corresponding vowels of the perfect. Examples: יִתְכַּנֵּשׁ, יִשְׁבַּח, יִתְבַּחֵר.

Preformative vowels. 3*. Supralinear preformative pathah (= seghol) in the 1 sing. imperf. Peal (as in Judg. 4. 7, 6. 15), except

in the case of some verbs initial guttural (§ 23), is a usage of late Yemenite MSS. In OTA preformative seghol occurs twice in MT (אֶקְרָא, אֶכְרַע)¹ and hireq once (אֶנְדַּע).

4*. In the supralinear MSS. published by Kahle the preformative vowel of the 1 sing. imperf. Pael is regularly אִי, and אִי is commonly written in the unvocalized texts of PTM. This orthography is to be regarded as a representation of ḥateph seghol (§ 2.8). אִסְעָרָם in the MT of Zech. 7. 14 may be compared. The only 1 sing. imperf. Pael form in OTA is אִתְּנוּ (Dan. 2. 24).

5. After the final consonant of the preformative syllables of the imperf. Pael and Aphel an intrusive vowel (hireq) is sometimes indicated by the supralinear punctuation (e.g. יִשְׁלַטוּן = יִשְׁלֹטוּן, Deut. 15. 6—Kahle p. 222). So also in the Ithpeel (§ 16, note 8).

Prefix ל. 6. Forms of 3 s. m. imperf. with preformative ל (Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 565) are found in PTM (21. ii. 6). Examples: לִפְיָם, לִמּוֹת, לִיכּוֹל, לִהְיוֹי (לִפֵּי, לִמּוֹת, לִיכּוֹל, לִהְיוֹי). They seem to occur generally in certain special types of sentence, e.g. in those expressing a purpose (after הֵן and הֵן) or a wish (see Dalman, p. 264 f.). In OTA the forms לִהְיוּ (לִהְיוֹה), לִהְיוּ, and לִהְיוּ occur. They may have been preferred in order to avoid the use of forms resembling the divine name יהוה.

OTA. 7. In OTA the stem vowels of the imperf. Pael are ā (יִסְבֵּר), ā (יִלְבֵּשׁ), and ē (יִפְּלֵ) and those of the impff. Pael and Haphel ē or ī (§ 16, note 12). In the Haphel imperf. uncontracted forms are nearly always used (יִהְיֶשְׁבַּח, יִהְיֶשְׁבֹּל). The plural ending ā (or ō), for ān, occurs twice (§ 29, note 10; § 35, note 5). See also notes 3, 4 and 6.

Syntax. 8. In PTM the uses of the imperfect tense are very strictly limited:

(1) It is a jussive (21. ii. 6, 26. 17, 27. 6) or imperative (with negative, 16. ii. 4, 19. ii. 7 f., 22. ii. 5; as a polite imperat., 24. ii. 7)

¹ In the supralinear MSS. probably hireq, as Dan. 5. 17 (Strack).

and expresses wishes, imprecations (26, last line, 28, second last line) and resolves (18. 9, 28. 6—see (4) below).

(2) It is used after לְ and לְלָא to express purpose (18. 13, 18. ii. 4, 21. 15), after $\text{לְלָא} = \text{lest}$ (24. 3) and after לְ (or לְלָא) in dependence upon verbs of asking (21. 2) and ordering (23. 5).

(3) It is used modally (21. 3), especially in questions (19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7, 24. ii. 2, 25. ii. 8). Cf. note 9 (3).

(4) It is a future tense only when there is an implication of indefiniteness (19. iii. 3 'that I should go out', 22. 1 'should be married', 28. 6, $\text{כָּל דְּיִימַר לִי בֵּר נְשָׂא אֶעֱבִיר}$ 'everything that any one *may bid me* I will do'), in subordinate clauses.

9. In OJ the imperfect tense is used more extensively than in PTM. It is employed:

(1) As an imperative, jussive, and voluntative, expressing commands and exhortations (Gen. 6. 21, Exod. 22. 24, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 23. 8, 13, 1 Sam. 24. 13), and resolves (Gen. 6. 7, Josh. 24. 15, 1 Sam. 24. 11).

(2) After לְ כִּדְלִיל in purpose clauses (Gen. 12. 13, 27. 25, Exod. 8. 6, 11. 7, Deut. 4. 1, 5. 16, 8. 1, 11. 8).

(3) As the usual equivalent of most Hebrew modal imperfects (to be rendered by may, might, would, should, must, &c.). 'Could' is expressed by an imperfect (2 Sam. 2. 22, 1 Kings 8. 5) or a participle (1 Kings 18. 10, Jer. 24. 2), or by לְ אִפְשָׁר with an imperf. (Gen. 13. 16). 'Can' may also be expressed by לְ אִפְשָׁר (Isai. 49. 15).

(4) As the ordinary future tense, for which PTM uses the participle. Examples: Gen. 2. 17, 3. 4, 49. 1, Exod. 4. 1, 6. 1, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 1. 3, 18. 3, 5, 10, 13, 18. 8, 23. 5, 1 Sam. 24. 21.

(5) In conditional sentences, following אִם (Gen. 18. 26, Exod. 22. 24, Josh. 23. 12) and אִלְרִי (Hebrew כִּי), Josh. 24. 20. A participle, however, is used to translate a Hebrew participle (Gen. 43. 4 f.).

(6) As a future in the past (preterite future)—Gen. 2. 19, Exod. 2. 4, 1 Sam. 22. 22, 2 Kings 13. 14—for which a participle (Gen. 43. 25, 1 Kings 7. 7) or עָתִידִיךָ with an imperf. (2 Kings 3. 27) are possible alternatives.

10. In OTA the imperfect is used as the ordinary future tense, as a jussive, and in the various modal senses. It is also used in conditional sentences, referring to the future (English indefinite present). It seldom refers to the present or the past.

11. עָתִידִי ('ready', 'prepared') or עָתִידִי לְ, with an infinitive, also expresses future time in OJ and PTM (Gen. 4. 10, 41. 28, Exod. 16. 23; Dalman, *Grammar*, p. 268 f.).

12. Sometimes an imperfect tense depends directly upon a governing verb, without יָ (§ 7, note 7) being prefixed (29. 21, רָבִּינוּ הֵכָּה בְּעֵין נִיצְלִי וַיִּיחֹז מִטָּרָא 'Our teachers here ask (that) I should pray, so that rain may fall'). Cf. הֵכָּה לִי מִן הַכָּה נָפֹק (19. iii. 3) 'the only remedy of the affair is that I should go out from here'. For נִיצְלִי and נָפֹק see note 13.

13. In PTM the 1 plur. imperf. is often used for the 1 sing. impf. (19. iii. 3, 21. 1, 24. ii. 7, 29. 21; Dalman, p. 265 f.). Cf. Dan. 2. 36, and see § 21, note 14.

§ 19. IMPERATIVES

| PAEL. | | P ^e AL. | | OJ |
|------------|----------|--------------------|------------|----------|
| בְּתִיב | מְנַע | עֲבִיד | בְּתִיב | 2 s. m. |
| בְּתִיבִי | מְנַעִי | עֲבִידִי | בְּתִיבִי | f. |
| בְּתִיבוּ | מְנַעוּ | עֲבִידוּ | בְּתִיבוּ | 2 pl. m. |
| בְּתִיבָא | מְנַעָא | עֲבִידָא | בְּתִיבָא | f. |
| PTM | | | | |
| בְּתִיב | מְנַע | עֲבִיד | בְּתִיב | 2 s. m. |
| בְּתִיבִין | מְנַעִין | עֲבִידִין | בְּתִיבִין | f. |
| בְּתִיבוּן | מְנַעוּן | עֲבִידוּן | בְּתִיבוּן | 2 pl. m. |
| בְּתִיבִין | מְנַעִין | עֲבִידִין | בְּתִיבִין | f. |

1*. In PTM the terminations are accented, in OJ unaccented.

2*. The final stem vowel of an imperative form agrees generally with that of the corresponding imperfect tense (cf. § 18, note 1).

3*. The MSS. of PTM indicate only *u* as the stem vowel of the inflected forms of the Peal imperatives. *ī* was probably in some cases the stem vowel, as well as *ā* (see § 25, note 5, and § 36, note 9). עֲבֹדוּ might have been given as the paradigm form.

4*. In OJ and PTM the plural imperative of the derived stems is the same as their 3 plur. perf. and in some verbs the plural imperat. Peal is also ambiguous (מְנַעוּ, מְנַעוּ).

5. εφφαθά is understood by Dalman (p. 278, note 1) to be 2 plur. fem. imperative Ethpeel, having ת assimilated to פ (§ 16, note 7) and with the fem. plur. ending silent as in Syriac, the man's ears being addressed (in Dalman 'Augen' should be 'Ohren'). Accordingly אֶתְּפַתְחָא = אֶפְתַּח = εφφαθά (ח not being distinguished from כ in Galilee—Dalman, p. 57 f.).

OTA. 6. OTA imperatives agree in terminations and accentuation with the imperatives of OJ. The OTA forms corresponding to פָּתוּב and אֶכְתִּיב are פָּתַב (one example) and הִכְתִּיב (two examples).

§ 20. INFINITIVES

| BAB | PTM | OJ | OJ | |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------|
| | מְכַתֵּב | | מְכַתֵּב | Peal |
| | מְכַתֹּב | | | |
| | מְכַתְּבָא | | | |
| פָּתוּבִי | מְכַתְּבָא | פָּתְכוּת | פָּתְכָא | Pael |
| אֶכְתוּבִי | מְכַתְּבָא | אֶכְתְּכוּת | אֶכְתְּכָא | Aphel |
| אֶתְּכַתוּבִי | מִתְּכַתְּבָא | אֶתְּכַתְּכוּת | אֶתְּכַתְּכָא | Ithpeel |
| אֶתְּכַתוּבִי | מִתְּכַתְּבָא | אֶתְּכַתְּכוּת | אֶתְּכַתְּכָא | Ithpaal |
| | מִתְּכַתְּבָא | אֶתְּכַתְּכוּת | אֶתְּכַתְּכָא | Ittaphal |

Orthography. 1*. The feminine ending of the infinitives of the derived stems in PTM is often represented by ה, and this orthography is usual in OTA.

BAB. 2. The forms under BAB, which are of Babylonian origin, occur occasionally in OJ (Judg. 3. 26) and PTM (23. 3).

OJ. 3*. The OJ forms in *ûth* are used in the construct and with suffixes. Penultimate *â* is unchangeable (קָדְמוּתִיהָ, Gen. 14. 17).

PTM. 4*. The infinn. of the derived stems in PTM are inflected like feminine nouns (מִפְקֻתָּהּ, 16. ii. 8—infin. Aphel of נָפַק).

OTA. 5. In OTA the forms are generally those of OJ, but with preformative ה for א (see paradigm, p. 95). הִנָּקַחַת (Ezra 4. 22), with construct ending as in PTM, is exceptional.

Infin. Peal. 6*. In OJ and OTA infinn. Peal are inflected as nouns of the B class מִקְרָבִי, מִקְרָבָהוּן (§ 12, note 5). In PTM the termination בִּ— (§ 36, note 8) is added to the Peal infinitive before suffixes (מִקְרָבִיָּיהָ).

Syntax. 7. The adverbial use of the Hebrew infin. absolute (as in Deut. 15. 4, 5, 8) is exactly reproduced by OJ, and the Peal infinitive form is then generally written מִבְּתָב in the supralinear MSS. (but cf. מִזִּבְּן in 2 Sam. 24. 24, Kahle, p. 28). The idiom is infrequent in PTM (Dalman, p. 280).

8. In OJ an infinitive dependent on a governing verb is nearly always preceded by ל, even when there is no preposition in the Hebrew text (Exod. 2. 3, Deut. 1. 19, 2. 25, Num. 22. 14, Judg. 8. 3, Isai. 1. 14). In OTA the use of ל is invariable. In PTM both constructions occur, with ל (19. ii. 11, 20. ii. 1 and 3, 22. ii. 6, 24. ii. 1 and 4, 26. 10), and without ל (19. ii. 10, 27. 2, 3, 6 and 8, 29. 7).

9. A Hebrew infinitive in the nominative case is generally replaced in OJ by הַ with an imperfect (Gen. 2. 18, 29. 19, Exod.

14. 12, Judg. 18. 19), or a perfect (Gen. 30. 15), or a partic. (Isai. 7. 13). Examples of the retention of the infin. occur in 1 Sam. 15. 22, 29. 6, Isai. 10. 7.

10. The Hebrew negative לֹא־לִי is represented in OJ by בְּרִיל לֹא־לִי (with an infin.), e.g. in Gen. 3. 11, 4. 15, Deut. 4. 21, 8. 11, Josh. 5. 6, Judg. 2. 23. In OTA לֹא־לִי with an infin. means 'must not be'.

11. A peculiarity of the syntax of OTA is that a single object noun, with no qualification, stands before a governing infin. (Dan. 3. 16, 5. 16, &c.). Cf. Dan. 2. 12, 3. 19, 5. 7, 7. 25, where the object follows. Objects such as generally follow a governing infin. may also precede the infin. (Dan. 2. 10, 3. 32, 5. 15, &c.) and do so freely in Ezra (4. 14, 5. 13, &c.).

§ 21. PARTICIPLES

| APHEL. | PAEL. | PeAL. |
|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| | PTM OJ | |
| מִכְתִּיב | מִכְתִּיב מְכַתֵּב | פְּתִיב active |
| מִכְתֵּב | מִכְתֵּב מְכֻתֵּב | פְּתִיב passive |
| ITAPHAL. | ITHPAAL. | ITHPeAL. |
| מִתְכַּתֵּב | מִתְכַּתֵּב | מִתְכַּתֵּב |

Forms. 1*. Since verbs final guttural and resh have *ā* for *ē* in all final syllables אִמַּר is the partic. Peal of אָמַר, and there is no distinction between the active and passive forms of the Pael and Aphel participles of such verbs. On the other hand, מְשִׁיבִיב (Deut. 3. 3, Judg. 12. 5) and מְשִׁתִּיבִיב (from שִׁוִּיב, rescue) are passives as well as actives.

2*. In OJ *ī* sometimes appears for final *ē* (so עָבִיר in 1 Kings 1. 6, Kahle, p. 28, and מְרַחֵם in Deut. 28. 50, Kahle, p. 225).

Peal particc. used as nouns always have \bar{i} in the supralinear punctuation (so פָּרִיק , פָּהִיר , פָּהִין). In OTA \bar{e} is usual, but eight words have \bar{i} for \bar{e} , viz. :

יָבֵל , נָחַת , דָּלֶק , נָזַק , מִמָּלֵל , מִשְׁפָּל , מִצָּל , מִשְׁוִיב .

3*. The particc. of intrans. verbs have the same forms as those of trans. verbs. Examples : דָּמִיף (also דָּמוֹף 'sleeping'; רָחִיץ (also רָחִין) 'trusting', 'hoping'; דָּחִיל (also דָּחִיל) 'fearing'.

4*. Words of the form פָּתִיב may have an active sense. Examples : פָּבִיר 'thinking'; דָּבִיר 'remembering'; תָּמִיף (? also תָּמִיף) 'wondering'.

5. The form מְכַתֵּב occurs occasionally in PTM and מְכַתֵּב (especially with verbs medial guttural) in OJ (Gen. 2. 9).

Inflections. 6. Participles are inflected like nouns of the B class (§ 10, note 7). There is, therefore, no formal distinction between active and passive in the particc. Pael and Aphel when these are inflected (מְכַתֵּב , &c.). Forms like תָּמִיף (17. ii. 18), מְקִילִין (23. 8), יָתִיב (27. 2), and עֲבִיד (28. 17) occur in the unvocalized texts of PTM and are read by Dalman as עֲבִידָא , &c. They do not occur in MSS. having a supralinear vocalization (Dalman, p. 311). Possibly yodh in such cases signifies vocal shewa (§ 2. 8).

7*. Shortened forms of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons (נָא , נָנִי , הִי , and תִּינִי) joined to particc. make a new tense form. Examples : יָדְעֵנָא (Gen. 4. 9), רָכַבְתִּי (Berliner) or רָכִיבְתִּי (Merx), in Num. 22. 30, זָרַעְתִּי (Deut. 11. 10, Kahle, p. 16), יָדְעִינוּ (25. ii. 8),¹ יָדְעִינוּ (Judg. 5. 16). See also § 30, note 5.

8. Tense forms got by uniting particc. and perf. terminations also occur, e.g. מְצַלִין (or מְצַלִין , § 28, note 1), meaning 'they prayed' (Dalman, p. 284).

¹ So Dalman (cf. *Gram.*, p. 290); why not יָדְעִינוּ ?

Syntax. 9. In PTM participles take over much of the early usage of imperfect tenses. They serve as an ordinary future tense (15. 9, 16. 5—יְהִיב, 20. 11, 23. ii. 8, 26. 3), and as the English indefinite present (= future) in conditional sentences (16. ii. 13), and they express promises (15. 10, 20. ii. 11) and general truths (23. 8). With עַד 'while' (14. ii. 4), and in an object sentence dependent on a past tense (16. ii. 11) they are used as past progressives and may sometimes be rendered by an English past tense (24. 2). The use of particc. in place of perfect tenses in narratives of past events is very characteristic (24. ii. 3, 25. ii. 2 ff., 27. 9—אָמַרָה).

10. In OJ particc. often represent Hebrew imperf. (or consecutive perf.), but not to the same extent as in PTM and not in the same uses. Acts customary in the present (Exod. 18. 15, Num. 11. 12, Deut. 1. 31 and 44, Judg. 7. 5, 10. 4, 1 Sam. 5. 5, 16. 7, 2 Kings 9. 20) or in the past (Gen. 29. 2, Num. 9. 20, Judg. 2. 19, 6. 5, 14. 10, 1 Sam. 1. 3, 6, 7, 2. 13 f. and 19) are expressed by particc. For the different idiom employed by PTM, see § 22, note 2 (c).

In questions understood of present time, a Hebrew imperf. is rendered in OJ by a participle (Gen. 32. 29 = 32. 30, 37. 15, Exod. 2. 13, 3. 3, Judg. 17. 9, 19. 17, 1 Sam. 1. 8, 25. 10, 28. 16).¹

So, also, when the Hebrew imperf. denotes continuance of a state through a period in the past (Gen. 2. 25, Exod. 13. 22, 1 Sam. 1. 13, Isai. 10. 7) or the future (1 Sam. 1. 14).

11. In OTA the partic. is the ordinary equivalent of a present tense (Dan. 2. 8) and a very frequent alternative to a perfect in narratives of past events (Dan. 4. 4, Ezra 5. 3). It is also used as a progressive tense, descriptive of events in the present (Dan. 3. 25—מַהֲלֵכִין) or the past (Dan. 5. 5—כְּתֻבָּה), and in stating general

¹ In OJ an imperfect in questions is to be understood as a future (Gen. 16. 8), or in a modal sense (Gen. 27. 45, 1 Sam. 17. 8, 28. 15). Cf. § 18, note 9.

truths (Dan. 2. 21). Occasionally it alternates with the imperfect as a future tense (Dan. 4. 29).

12. When the pronoun subject of a partic. is in the third person, it is often left unexpressed (*Chrest.* 15. 11, 16. ii. 3, 20. 8, 24. 10, 27. 9; Dan. 4. 4, 4. 32).

13. A general statement with an indefinite subject is expressed by the plural of a partic. without an explicit subject. Examples: *Chrest.* 27. 11, 'men despise'; Ezra 6. 3, 'men sacrifice'; Dan. 4. 28, equivalent to a passive 'you are addressed'.

14. The 1 pers. plur. of the participle tense (note 7) may be used for the 1 pers. sing. (Dalman, p. 266). Cf. § 18, note 13.

15. Some verbs take as their complement a participle, instead of an infin. Examples: קוּם (14. ii. 1), שָׁרִי (16. ii. 9, 20. 10), עָבַד (19. 13). שָׂרִי ('begin') is used with partic. in the Peshitta, but with infin. in OJ (Gen. 6. 1, Deut. 2. 31, Judg. 10. 18, 13. 5, 1 Sam. 14. 35) and in OTA (Ezra 5. 2).

§ 22. COMPOUND TENSES

1*. The tenses of the verb הָיָה 'become' form compound tenses with the participles of other verbs. These compound tenses occur frequently in PTM and are also a characteristic feature of OTA. They are seldom used by OJ.

2. In PTM the perfect of הָיָה joined to a present participle expresses :

(a) *A past progressive tense*, in sentences introduced by 'who' or 'when' (14. ii. 1, 15. ii. 1, 22. 7) and in circumstantial clauses (15. 6, 16. ii. 5). It describes a prolonged state or act in the past, where in English a past tense is a possible (22. 3, 27. ii. 1) or a preferable (16. ii. 5, 16. ii. 8) alternative. The verbs employed are very frequently intrans. verbs denoting state or condition. Examples: בָּרַךְ הָיָה אָתִי 'when he was coming', וְהוּא הָיָה יֹרֵעַ 'now he

knew'. In the sentence וְהָיְתָה בְּכִיָּהּ גוֹ אֶסְטֶרְמָה וְאַמְרִית לָהּ מָה לִּי (29. 6) the compound tense possibly expresses a past inchoative, 'when she began weeping in the street, I asked her what was the matter'.

(b) *A pluperfect progressive tense*, in sentences dependent on a past tense (16. 6, 'he found that he had been selling').

(c) *A habit or custom*, in the present (21. 12) or the past (22. ii. 2, 23. ii. 7, 27. 1, 28. 6, 'he used to say').

(d) *An act repeated in the past* a number of times, by the same or by different persons (15. 3, 19, ii. 15—הָיָה לְתַפְּוֹן הָהוּא—פֶּל מֵאֵן דִּיהָהוּ אָמְי לְתַפְּוֹן הָהוּא—21. 13, 22. 7).

(e) *A future in the past* (preterite future), 'he lay down beside one of them in order to learn what they would say' (17. ii. 4 f.).

(f) *A past conditional*, expressing 'would have' (22. 9, after הִיָּךְ, 24. 2, 27. 12, both in apodoses of conditional sentences, after unfulfilled conditions).

3. The participle tense of הָיָה (see § 21, note 7) may be used, instead of its perfect tense, in combination with the present participle of another verb. Examples: הָיִינוּ מְנַלִּיָּא 'I repeatedly uncovered' (22. 7), מָה הָיִינוּ מְסַעֲרֵי דַעְתִּי 'How could I have diverted my attention?' (29. 28). For the expression of 'could have' by a compound tense see also note 5.

4. In OTA the uses of the perfect compound tense, so far as they occur, are the same as in PTM. Examples: (a) Dan. 2. 31, 5. 19—הָיָה זִיָּעִין 'trembled', describing a prolonged state or condition; (c) Dan. 5. 19—הָיָה קָטַל 'he used to kill'; (d) Dan. 6. 11, three times in the day he knelt on his knees and prayed' (הָיָה בִּקְרָה) and Dan. 6. 5, 'they sought repeatedly to find an excuse' (הָיָה בְּעִין). In Dan. 6. 15 הָיָה מְשַׁתְּדֵּר may be classed under (a) or (d).

5*. In OJ a participle or an imperfect tense is generally used where PTM would use a compound perfect tense. A compound

perfect is, however, sometimes used to describe an act or state extending over a period of time (Gen. 2. 6, 19, Josh. 4. 14, 'as they had revered') or repeated at intervals during a period of time (Gen. 31. 18). It is also used in the apodosis of conditional sentences (Judg. 11. 39, 'he would have redeemed') and to express 'could have' (Gen. 43. 7). It is of course the regular equivalent of the same compound tense in Hebrew (Gen. 4. 17, 37. 2, &c.).

6*. The imperfect נִהְיֶה joined to the present participle of another verb is used (a) as a future progressive tense (Exod. 1. 16, after הֵיכָן), (b) to express future custom or habit (Dan. 2. 43), and (c) after הֵיכָן and הֵיכָן to express result or effect (*Chrest.* 16. ii. 14, 18. 15, 20. 5; Dan. 6. 3, Ezra 6. 10, 7. 25 f.) or the substance of a command (22. ii. 3 f.). As an alternative to a simple jussive this tense perhaps implies emphasis or menace (*Chrest.* 19. ii. 17; cf. Ezra 6. 8 f.). For corresponding uses of the imperfect see § 18, note 8 (2).

7. A relative sentence contains a compound tense when there is a compound tense in the associated principal clause (Dan. 5. 19—נִהְיֶה הָיָה—Ezra 7. 26, *Chrest.* 19. ii. 15).

8*. הֵיכָן joined to a passive participle provides the equivalent of a simple perfect passive (17. ii. 2, 25. ii. 10; Dan. 6. 4, Ezra 5. 11). נִהְיֶה with a passive participle is used as a jussive passive (Dan. 3. 18, Ezra 4. 12, 6. 8 f.); cf. note 6.

9. In PTM, as in Syriac, the perfect of any verb may be slightly strengthened by prefixing to it the perfect of הָיָה (Dalman, p. 257 f.).

10. הָיָה in combination with an infinitive is sometimes equivalent to a compound tense (20. ii. 10—הָיָה מְכַבֵּשׁ מְדִינָתָא 'after (he) had conquered the city'.

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF GUTTURALS UPON VERBAL FORMS

The influence of gutturals (ה, ח, ע) and of ר upon the vowels of verbal forms is not as extensive as in Hebrew, but, so far as it goes, is similar in character.

1*. **Pathah** holds the place of normal *šere* in the final syllable of all parts of verbs final guttural or resh (Pael, Aphel, partic. Pael, &c.). In the final syllable of imperff. and imperatives Pael pathah is usual, but *ō* also occurs before final resh and final 'ayin, especially in PTM. In OTA pathah is used in all the cases covered by this section. The verbs of §§ 27, 32, and 34 are not included.

2*. In the imperf. Pael **preformative pathah** is used in some verbs (e.g. יַעֲשֶׂה, יַחַבֹּט, יַעֲבִיר), but hireq is more common (Dalman). In OTA פַּעֲבִיר (twice), יַחַלֵּפִין (once) and יַעֲדֶה or יַעֲדֶה (thrice), with the imperfect forms of יַהֲדִיחַ (יַהֲדִיחַ, &c.), are the only Pael imperff. of verbs initial guttural that occur. Dalman (page 93) makes the supralinear pathah of יַעֲבִיר equivalent to seghol (hence *Chrest.* 18. 4, 19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7).

3*. Apparently the only **infin. with preformative pathah** is מַעֲבִיר. In OTA the form is מַעֲבִיר (twice) and Dalman follows this analogy in his *Dialektproben* (18. 14, 29. 7).

4*. **Pathah furtive** is used in the pass. partic. Pael of verbs final guttural (שְׁלִיחַ). See also § 32, note 1.

5*. An **intrusive pathah** separates the termination הַ from the stem of verbs final guttural. E. g. הִשְׁתַּבַּחַתְּ (Dan. 5. 27).

6*. Vocal shewa following a guttural in the supralinear punctuation is to be pronounced as the sublinear **hateph** would be. Supralinear pathah in perff. like אִמַּר signifies **hateph pathah** and *šere* in imperative forms like אִמַּר and עִיר signifies **hateph seghol**. See § 2. 7, 8.

7*. An **intrusive hateph** (before vocal shewa an intrusive

§ 23. GUTTURAL INFLUENCE ON VERBAL FORMS 61

pathah) is indicated in some MSS. of OJ after initial *y* and initial *h* in the imperf. and infin. forms of the Peal (Aphel, Shaphel). *יַעֲבִיר* and *מַעֲבִיר* are most frequently so treated. Cf. Judg. 12. 5 (*אֶעְבֵּר*) and 16. 24 (*מַחֲרִיב*, Hebraism?). In some MSS. after *y* an intrusive *hireq* is indicated, in harmony with the *hireq* of the preformative syllable (Dalman, p. 93; Kahle, p. 223). For forms with intrusive vowels in OTA see note 2.

8*. In the intensives of verbs medial *resh*, in which the medial radical is not doubled, the preceding pathah is regularly lengthened into **compensation** *qames* and, similarly, sometimes before medial *e* or *a*. Examples: *בָּרִיךְ*, *נָשֵׂאֵל*, *סָאֵיב*. In Dan. 5. 9 the sublinear reading is *מִתְבַּהֵּל* and the supralinear is *מִתְבַּהֵּל* (or *מִתְבַּהֵּל*).

9. *a* between two vowels was pronounced yodh (Dalman, p. 60), hence PTM in the inflected forms of the active partic. Peal of verbs medial aleph and in the intensive forms of *שָׂאֵל* and *שָׂאֵר* writes *y* for *a*. PTM *שָׂיֵל* and *שָׂיֵר* = OJ *שָׂאֵל* (Gen. 43. 7—Dalman, p. 305) and *שָׂאֵר*. See also § 33, note 2.

§ 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

| | | | | | |
|---------|---------------|---------------|---------|-------|----------|
| נָחַת | סָלַק, סָלִיק | נָסַב, נָסִיב | נָפַק | Pearl | perf. |
| נִיחֹת | יָפַק | יָסַב | יָפֹק | | imperf. |
| חֹת | סָק | סָב | פֹּק | | imperat. |
| חֹתוּ | סָקוּ | סָבוּ | פֹּקוּ | | |
| מִיחַת | מָפַק | מָסַב | מָפַק | | infin. |
| מִיחֹת | מָפֹק | מָסֹב | מָפֹק | | PTM |
| נָחִית | סָלִיק | נָסִיב | נָפִיק | | partic. |
| אָחִית | אָפִיק | | אָפִיק | Aphel | perf. |
| יָחִית | יָפִיק | | יָפִיק | | imperf. |
| אָחִית | אָפִיק | | אָפִיק | | imperat. |
| אָחָתָא | אָפָקָא | | אָפָקָא | | infin. |
| מִחִית | מָפִיק | | מָפִיק | | partic. |

Assimilation. 1*. Assimilation of nun to the medial radical takes place in the impff. and inff. Peal and in all the tenses of the Aphel and Ittaphal. Nun and its vowel (shewa) generally disappear in the imperat. Peal.

2*. In verbs medial ה and medial ך assimilation of nun does not take place (Gen. 1. 17, אֲנִיָּהּ). Unassimilated forms of other verbs also occur (22. ii. 9, יִנְוִיָּהּ; Gen. 26. 11, יִנְוִיָּהּ).

3*. The vocalization of verbs medial ה, according to the supra-linear punctuation, is shown above. Where pathah is written in the perfect Aphel (Gen. 2. 5, Merx), it may be understood to denote hāteph pathah (§ 2. 7).

Peal imperatt. and inffinn. 4*. The stem vowels of the imperative Peal do not become vocal shewa in the inflected forms, as they do in Hebrew (see table above). Forms with nun preserved sometimes occur in PTM. סִיב (15. 9, 16. ii. 7) is an alternative to סִב.

5. Infinitives like מִפֶּסֶק are normal in OJ, and those like מִפִּסֶּק in PTM.

Ithpeel. 6. Ithpeel forms sometimes assimilate ת of the prefix to the following nun (§ 16, note 7).

7*. In סִלִּיק ך assimilates regressively, so that forms like those of verbs initial nun are produced. The infin. Haphel הִנְסָקָה (Dan. 6. 24) is a case of erroneous dissimilation (cf. § 10, note 12).

OTA. 8. So far as examples occur, notes 1-4 apply to OTA. The only verb medial guttural is נָחַת, whose nun is assimilated in the Haphel imperfect (תִּנְחַת), imperative (Ezra 5. 15, אֲחַת or אִחַת) and partic. (מִתְחַתֵּן), but not in the Hophal (תִּנְחַת). Other verbs with unassimilated forms are נָתַן (imperf., inf.), נָפַק (Aphel), and נָזַק (Aphel). There are two ē imperfects, יִפֹּל (as Syriac; OJ יִפֹּל) and יִנְתֵּן or יִנְתֵּן. For the imperat. שִׁא see § 27, note 10, and for סִלֵּק, note 7.

§ 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

| APHEL. | | P ^e AL. | | |
|----------|--------------|--------------------|----------|----------|
| אֹכֵל | אָל | אָמַר | אָכַל | perf. |
| יֹכֵל | יָיִל | יָיַמַר | יָיָכַל | imperf. |
| אֹכֵל | אֵיִל, אֵיִל | אֵימַר | אֵיכֹל | imperat. |
| אֹכְלִים | אֵיִלִּים | אֵימְרוּ | אֵיכֹלוּ | OJ |
| אֹכְלוֹת | אֵלִין | אִמְרוּ | אִכְלוּ | PTM |
| אֹכְלָא | מֵיִל | מֵימַר | מֵיכַל | infin. |
| מֹכֵל | מֵיִל | מֵאֵמַר | מֵאִכֵּל | partic. |

1*. In the imperf. and infin. P^eal and in the Aphel א coalesces with the preformative vowel into \bar{e} and \bar{o} respectively, and the orthography is generally the same as that of verbs initial yodh (אֹכֵל, יֹכֵל).

P^eal imperf. 2*. The imperfects P^eal, that have pathah as their stem vowel, are יֵיכַר, יֵיכֹל, and יֵימַר (but also יֵימֹר). The final stem vowel of the imperatives of these words is also pathah (in Hebrew holem). יֵיכֹל does not belong to the group (unlike Hebrew יֵאכֵל).

Imperat. 3*. The supralinear imperatives אֵימַר, אֵיכֹל, &c., although pointed with sere, should probably be pronounced אִמַּר, אִכֹּל, &c. (§ 2. 8), as in OTA (אִמַּר). In the supralinear MSS. of OJ אֵיִל (Exod. 33. 1, Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, pp. 5 and 15) and אֵיִלִּים (Judg. 18. 19—Praetorius) both occur, and the plural form is אֵיִלִּים (Josh. 2. 1, 18. 8). In the singular Berliner's *Onkelos* has both \bar{e} (Deut. 10. 11) and \bar{i} (Gen. 22. 2, Exod. 3. 16, 33. 1). In all these forms yodh presumably at first represented a hurried vowel (vocal shewa).

4*. Some verbs (e.g. אָחַז, אָחַז) use shortened imperatt. P^eal as alternatives to the full forms (אָחַז, אָחַז; אָחַז, אָחַז—in Dalman אָחַז). For the ending \bar{o} in אָחַז see § 29.

5*. The stem vowel *i* of the imperat. plur. of PTM is indicated in the texts for some words and may have been the stem vowel of all words of this class. The analogy of the imperat. sing. with suffixes points to *i* or *u* (§ 36, note 9). Dalman's pointing אִלְוֹן and אִכְלִין (23. 1) seems unlikely.

Aphel. 6*. Of the Aphels with preformative *ṣere* that occur in PTM only אִיבִּיל and הִימִין and some verbs having both initial א and final א, such as אָתָא, are recognized by Dalman (p. 298f.) as correct. The salutation אִישֶׁר 'hail' (*Chrest.* 29. 19) is also supposed to be an Aphel form (imperative). In OJ and OTA הִימִין (§ 16, note 5) and אִיתִי or אִיתִי (OTA הִיתִי, הִיתִי), from אָתָא, are used.

Contracted forms. 7. Contraction takes place in the imperf., infin., and partic. of אֵלֶּף (יֵלֶּף, מֵלֶּפֶא, מֵלֶּיֶף = יֵאֵלֶּף, &c.). Contracted Ithpels and Ithpaals also occur (e.g. אֶתְאָמַר = אֶתְאָמַר and אֶתְאָחַד = אֶתְאָחַד). There seems to be similar contraction of verbs initial yodh (in אֶתְלִיד, Gen. 4. 18, 26, 24. 15, Merx).

Unusual forms. 8. יֵלֶּף and יֵבֶר (18. ii. 2) are used as alternative forms of אֵבֶר and אֵלֶּף (cf. § 23, note 9). יֵימָא (= יֵימַר) is a Babylonian form, which occurs in PTM (16. 5). אֶבִּילִנִן (17. ii. 7) seems to have no parallel and may be an error for אֶבִּילִנִן (§ 21, note 7) or אֶבִּילִנָא.

OTA. 9. The variations of OTA are as follows. Etymological aleph is generally written in the Peal imperf. and infin. (אֵבֶל, אֵמַר), except in the cases of מֵתָא and מֵוָא, from אָתָא and אָוָא (§ 27). In the Peal imperat. א is generally followed by ḥaṭeph seghol and in אֵלֶּל (Ezra 5. 15) *ṣere* is its equivalent (cf. note 3 and אֵוָה, Dan. 3. 22, = אֵוָה, pass. ptc. Peal). In Dan. 7. 5, where MT has אֵבֶלִי, Strack's supralinear text reads אֵבֶלִי, i.e. אֵבֶלִי (§ 2. 8, 9). The Hophal. perf. הֵבֶר (Dan. 7. 11) has the same form as the Hophal of verbs initial yodh. See also note 6 and the table of verbs, p. 96.

§ 26. VERBS INITIAL YODH AND WAW

| APHEL. | | | PeAL. | |
|---------|---------|--------|--------|----------------|
| אֹמֵיב | יָרַח | יָחַב | יָדַע | יָכִיל perf. |
| | יָרִיחַ | יָחִיב | | |
| יֹאמֵיב | יִירַח | יִיחֵב | יָדַע | יָכֹול imperf. |
| אֹמֵיב | רַח | חֵיב | דַּע | — imperat. |
| אֹמֵיבו | רַחוּ | חִיבוּ | דַּעוּ | |
| אֹמְבָא | | חִמַּב | מִדַּע | מִכֵּל infin. |
| | מִירַח | מִיחַב | מִידַע | מִיכֵל |

Peal prefixes. 1*. In the imperf. and infin. Peal yodh coalesces with the preformative vowel into (1) \bar{e} and (2) \bar{z} followed by the middle radical doubled. In the imperf. tense \bar{e} is unusual except before a medial guttural or resh (יִירַח, יִיחַב) and the punctuation of the MSS. cannot always be relied on. Examples: תִּיבֵשׁ (Ezek. 17. 10—Kahle, p. 46), יִימַב (Deut. 10. 13—Kahle, p. 15; Ezra 7. 18), יָכֹול (Josh. 9. 19, for נָכֹול 'we are able'), תִּיכְלִין (Josh. 24. 19, for תִּיכְלִין 'you are able'). For OJ forms having shewa as their preformative vowel see note 2.

Stem vowels. 2. Imperff. Peal with \bar{e} as their stem vowel are יָחֵיב (OTA יָחַב) and יִיחֵיב (PTM occasionally). In OJ imperf. forms like יָלִיד (Gen. 3. 16) and יָוִיָּה (Deut. 15. 6) are found occasionally.

Imperat. 3*. The imperatt. Peal are treated like the imperatt. of verbs initial nun. In PTM the initial radical is sometimes preserved (יָחֵב, יָחֵבוּ).

Aphel. 4*. The preformative vowel of the Aphel is generally \bar{o} (אֹמֵיב, אֹמֵיב). Where \bar{e} occurs in the MSS. it is frequently due to textual error (Dalman, p. 307f.). Dalman recognizes אֵילִיל in OJ and אֵיחֵיב and אֵיחֵר as possibly correct in PTM הֵיכֵל occurs in OTA (Ezra 5. 14, 7. 15).

5*. In OJ הוֹדַע is used for אֹדַע and the uncontracted forms יְהוֹדַע

and מְהוֹרַע more often, probably, than the contracted forms. Cf. § 16, note 4.

Shaphel. 6. The Shaphel שִׁוִּיב (OTA שִׁיב) 'rescue' has no Peal in use (? = שִׁעֲוִיב). סִבֵּל (Ezra 6. 3) may be regarded as a causative of יִבֵּל, with ס as in some Syriac forms. For שִׁיִּי (?) from יִצֵּא see § 27, note 8.

Ithp^{el}. 7. For elision of yodh in Ithp^{el} forms see § 25, note 7.

יָהַב 8. In PTM forms with elided ה are used (e.g. יָהִיבִית = יְהִיבִית, *Chrest.* 29.8). In OJ and OTA the imperf. and infin. of נתן take the place of the corresponding parts of יָהַב and are the only parts of נתן in use (see § 24, note 8). In PTM they are alternatives to יִיָּהַב or יִיָּהִיב and מִיָּהַב.

OTA. 9. For a synopsis of the forms of OTA see table, p. 96. In Peal perff. and imperf. the stem vowel *ī* corresponds to OJ *e* (יָהַב; יָכַל; יָהֵב). In the imperf. Peal preformative *ẓ* and *ṣ̣* both occur (יִזְכֵּר, יִצְכֵּר). יָדַע is always, erroneously, dissimilated to יִנְדַּע (seven times). The normal Haphel form is like הוֹחֵב (cf. note 4) and a Hophal form (הוֹיָפַח) occurs once. See also notes 6 and 8.

§ 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

| ITTAPHAL. | ITHPAAL. | ITP ^{HEL} . | APHEL. | PAEL. | PeAL. | |
|------------|------------|----------------------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| אֶתְחַיֵּי | אֶתְחַיֵּי | אֶתְחַיֵּי | אֶחַיֵּי | חַיֵּי | חַיֵּי | perft. |
| אֶתְחַיֵּא | אֶתְחַיֵּא | אֶתְחַיֵּא | | | | |
| יִתְחַיֵּי | יִתְחַיֵּי | יִתְחַיֵּי | יֶחַיֵּי | יֶחַיֵּי | יֶחַיֵּי | imperf. |
| | יִתְחַיֵּא | | | | | |
| אֶתְחַיֵּי | אֶתְחַיֵּי | אֶתְחַיֵּי | אֶחַיֵּי | חַיֵּי | חַיֵּי | imperat. |
| אֶתְחַיֵּא | אֶתְחַיֵּא | אֶתְחַיֵּא | אֶחַיֵּא | חַיֵּא | חַיֵּי | infin. |
| מִתְחַיֵּי | מִתְחַיֵּי | מִתְחַיֵּי | מִחַיֵּי | מִחַיֵּי | | PTM |
| מִתְחַיֵּי | מִתְחַיֵּי | מִתְחַיֵּי | מִחַיֵּי | מִחַיֵּי | חַיֵּי | act. ptc. |
| מִתְחַיֵּא | | | | מִחַיֵּא | חַיֵּי | pass. ptc. |
| | | | | מִחַיֵּי | | PTM |

Final vowels of stem. 1*. In the bare stem forms, without an inflexional ending, the final radical coalesces with the preceding vowel into \bar{z} or \bar{e} or \bar{a} or $\bar{\alpha}$. \bar{a} occurs only in the perfect Peal (3 s. m.) and in the OJ adverbial infin. (note 6). \bar{a} comes from *ai* (cf. § 13, note 2) and the forms of the paradigm in which it is found seem to be peculiar to OJ (see, however, note 6). In OJ and PTM the distinctive orthography הָוִה is more common, in this verb, than הָוֵה (cf. הָוֵה).

2*. Intransitive perfects Peal ending in \bar{z} in OJ are: סָנִי , שָׁתִי , קָרִי , צָבִי , &c. שָׁתִי (or אֶשְׁתִּי , with prosthetic vowel) is the only form of the kind in PTM (Dalman). In OTA שָׁתִי (or אֶשְׁתִּי) and צָבִי occur.

3. Where \bar{z} appears in the final syllable of imperfects, it may be regarded as due to scribal error (Dalman),

4*. In Yemenite MSS. Peal imperatt. of the form קָוִי are corrections of קָוִי under the influence of Hebrew (Diettrich, *ZATW.*, xx, p. 151).

Infin. forms. 5*. In OJ the third radical of feminine infin. is written aleph but pronounced yodh (cf. § 23, note 9). The writing of yodh twice in forms like מְהַוִּי , &c., is a characteristic of unvocalized MSS. η is used in PTM less frequently than \aleph to denote the feminine ending of infinitives.

6. In OJ an infin. Peal of the form מְהַוִּי is used as an adverbial infin. (cf. § 20, note 7). The PTM form מְהוֹה may have been pronounced מְהַוִּי , from מְהַוִּי . In 25. ii. 4 Dalman points \bar{a} in the final syllable (לְמַחְמָה).

Pass. partic. 7*. The passive partic. Peal is sometimes pointed with final \bar{z} by supralinear MSS. (Deut. 25. 10, Josh. 7. 10).

Shaphel. 8. The Shaphel form שִׁיבִי 'complete', may be derived from שִׁבִּי . For the \bar{e} of the preformative syllable see § 26, notes 4 and 6.

OTA. 9. The vocalic endings of the uninflected forms of the perff., imperff., and participles of OTA are \bar{a} , \bar{z} , and \bar{e} , as in

OJ (see table, p. 96). Final yodh is written when the vowel is \bar{e} (הַתְּנִי) and in יִתְקַרֵּי (Dan. 5. 12). In other cases—when the final vowel is \bar{a} or \bar{e} —א or ה is written at the end of the word, without any precise distinction between them. Examples: בָּעָא and בָּעָה; יִבְעָא; מְבָעָא; בָּעָא and בָּעָה; בָּנָה. For the form אָוָה (Dan. 3. 22) see § 25, note 9. In Ezra 6. 15 the Kethibh is שִׁיִּצִּיא, the Qere שִׁיִּצִּי or שִׁצִּי.

10. There are three examples of a 2 s. m. imperat. in OTA, one Pael (מִנִּי, Ezra 7. 25, for מִנִּי) and two Peals (הִי, in Dan. 2. 4, &c., and שִׂא, Ezra 5. 15, from נִשָּׂא).

11. The third radical of the infinitives of the derived stems is always yodh in the Kethibh of MT (הַשְׁנִיָּה, &c). There are, however, supralinear and other MSS. in which aleph is read, as in OJ, by the Qere (see Strack's notes on Daniel 2. 10 and 6. 9).

12. The forms יִקְרִי (Ezra 4. 18, 23) and יִגְלִי (Dan. 2. 30) or יִגְלִי (Dan. 2. 19) and the plural רְמִי (Dan. 3. 21, 7. 9) are examples of perfect Peils (§ 16, note 11).

§ 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH (perfect tenses)

| APHEL. | | PeAL. | | PeAL. | |
|------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|----------|-----------------------|
| PTM | OJ | PTM | OJ | PTM | OJ |
| | אָחֹי | | שָׁתִי | | חָוָא 3 s. m. |
| אָחֹיִית | אָחֹיִיאַת | שָׁתִיית | שָׁתִיאַת | | חָוָה f. |
| | אָחֹיִיאַת-ת | | שָׁתִיאַת-ת | | חָוִיתָא 2 s. m. |
| | אָחֹיִית | | שָׁתִיית | | חָוִית f. |
| | אָחֹיִית-ת | | שָׁתִיית-ת | | חָוִיתִי 1 s. com. |
| אָחֹיִין | אָחֹיִיאִין | שָׁתִין | שָׁתִיאִין | חָוִין | חָוִין 3 pl. m. |
| אָחֹיִין | אָחֹיִיאָה | — | שָׁתִיאָה | חָוִין | חָוִיָּה f. |
| | אָחֹיִיתִין | | שָׁתִיתִין | | חָוִיתִין 2 pl. m. |
| | אָחֹיִיתִין | | שָׁתִיתִין | | חָוִיתִין f. |
| אָחֹיִינוּ | אָחֹיִיאָנָא | שָׁתִינוּ | שָׁתִיאָנָא | חָוִינוּ | חָוִיָּנָא 1 pl. com. |

Endings. 1*. The OJ plural terminations י (3 masc.) and תו (2 masc.) are peculiar to this class of verbs and are used in the Peal only. Dalman makes the corresponding endings of PTM *ōn* and *tūn* (?) and extends the use of *ōn* to all perfects, in accordance with the analogy of OJ imperfects.

2*. The distinctive endings נה and תי occur frequently in OJ and to a less extent in PTM. In OTA the endings of the 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. are ה and ת respectively, and there is no example of 2 s. f.

3rd radical. 3*. Before all consonantal endings the third radical of these verbs coalesces with the preceding stem vowel into *ē* or *ī*, as shown in the table. In *ī* perfects the reading *ē*, for *ī*, by Yemenite MSS. is due to late correctors (Dietrich, *ZATW.*, vol. xx, p. 151 f.).

4*. In the 3 s. f. of *ī* perfects and in the 3 pl. f. of all perfects, OJ retains consonantal aleph (pronounced as yodh) and PTM consonantal yodh (נִיַּית, 18. 3; שָׁרִית, 21. ii. 7). There are two cases in OTA, both of which agree with PTM in writing yodh (אֶתְכָּרִית, Dan. 7. 15, and הִיתִית, Dan. 6. 18). In MT these two forms follow two different systems of punctuation. One of the MSS. used by Strack supplies the variant reading הִיתִית. In PTM אחוּיַּית and אחוּיִין are unvocalized forms for אֶחָוִית (?) (אֶחָוִית or אֶחָוִית) and אֶחָוִין. In OJ נ appears also in the 3 pl. m. of all *ī* perfects.

5. In PTM forms of the 3 s. f. and 3 pl. m. perf. Peal, with consonantal yodh retained, sometimes occur. Presumably they were pronounced like תַּנִּית and תַּיִין respectively (§ 17). Dalman's pointing of תַּמִּית (22. 19) and בַּעִית (27. 2) seems to follow the analogy of the OTA (Hophal) form הִיתִית (note 4). In OTA the Kethibh preserves one 3 s. f. perf. Peal with consonantal yodh (מַמִּית, Dan. 4. 21).

OTA. 6. In OTA before consonantal terminations the final syllable of the stem becomes *ī* in *ī* perfects (מַנִּית), *ai* in the 2 s. m.

of ordinary perf. Peal (חִזַּיתָ) and in בִּנִּיתָה or בְּנִיתָה 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27), ē in other forms (חִזַּיתָ, בְּעִינָא). See also note 2.

7. In the 3 sing. fem. perf. Peal the forms חִזַּת and חִזַּת are written by MT without discrimination. Strack uniformly prints חִזַּת. In other respects the 3 s. f. of perfect tenses agrees with PTM (see notes 4 and 5). There is no example in OTA of a pl. fem. perf.

8. In one 3 pl. m. form (חִזַּיתִּי, § 31, note 6) consonantal yodh is retained and the vocalization is that of the normal verb (§ 17). With this exception the 3 pl. m. is like that of OJ (בָּעוּ), with a variation of orthography in the ī perfects (אֶשְׁתִּי, אֶשְׁנִי), which is also found in some MSS. of OJ (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 92). In Dan. 6. 17 and 6. 25 Strack's supralinear text reads חִזַּיתִּי. The only case of a 2 pl. m. is חִזַּיתֶּן (Dan. 2. 8), for which supralinear MSS. read חִזַּיתֶּן.

9. Baer's reading of seghol for šere in the final syllable of pausal imperff. Pael and Haphel (Dan. 2. 4, 7, 24 and 5. 12) is not accepted by Strack.

§ 29. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(imperfects, imperatives and infinitives)

| | PeAL. | | |
|---------|-----------|---------|------------|
| PLURAL. | SINGULAR. | | IMPERFECT. |
| | PTM | OJ | |
| יִחְזֹן | | יִחְזִי | 3 masc. |
| יִחְזִי | | יִחְזִי | fem. |
| יִחְזֹן | | יִחְזִי | 2 masc. |
| יִחְזִי | יִחְזִי | יִחְזִי | fem. |
| | יִחְזִי | | |
| יִחְזִי | | יִחְזִי | 1 com. |

| PTM APHEL. OJ | | PTM PeAL. OJ | | IMPERATIVE. |
|---------------|-------|--------------|-------|-------------|
| | אָחֹי | | חֹי | 2 s. m. |
| אָחֹי | אָחֹא | חֹי | חֹא | f. |
| אָחֹוֹן | אָחֹו | חֹוֹן | חֹו | 2 pl. m. |
| — | — | — | חֹאָה | f. |

Imperff. 1*. The imperfect plur 1 masc. termination *ōn* is known from the MSS. of OJ and OTA and is extended by analogy to PTM. The 2. s. f. endings in PTM are read by Dalman (p. 339) as *ain* and *ai* respectively. תַּחֲיוּן might be understood to signify תַּחֲיוֹן (§ 2. 1).

2*. Consonantal yodh is retained by OJ and PTM in the 2 and 3 plur. fem. of all imperfects (cf. OTA לְהַיָּו, Dan. 5. 17). For the 2 s. f. in PTM see note 1.

3. Forms like אָחֹי (given in Dalman's paradigm) sometimes occur for אָחֹו (Gen. 24. 14, Merx), but are characteristic of the later Yemenite MSS. (§ 18, note 3).

Imperat. 4*. The PTM imperative ending *ōn* is got by analogy from the *ō* of OJ and OTA. The 2 s. f. ending *ai* is shortened from *ain* and is the only ending of which Dalman gives examples from PTM. In OJ *ā* = *ai* (cf. § 27, note 1). The 2 plur. fem. form occurs in 2 Sam. 1. 24 (בַּכֹּאָה).

5. Shortened imperatives (2 s. m.) are found in OJ. Examples: אִשְׁתִּי (Peal—Gen. 24. 14), נִשִּׁי (Pael—Gen. 24. 2), אַעֲרֵךְ or אַעֲרֵר (Aphel—Exod. 33. 5).

6*. The 2 s. m. imperat. of the derived stems is the same as the 3 s. m. perf. in OJ and PTM, the 2 pl. m. of all stems is the same as 3 pl. m. perf. in PTM and the Peal imperat. 2 plur. is the same as the 3 plur. perf. in OJ. Cf. § 19, note 4.

Infinn. 7. Infinitives of the form מִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּא are found in PTM. Cf. Ezra 5. 9, מִבְּנִיָּה.

8. Peal infinitives with suffixes are treated in OJ like plural

nouns (§ 13, note 7), except that אֵ is used for *ai* as the suffix of the 1st singular and that הֵ is employed for אֵהָ. Examples: מְחַוֶּה, מְחַוֶּהִי. PTM has forms like מְחַמֵּינִיה or מְחַמֵּינִיהָ (see § 37, note 6). In OTA, stems with consonantal yodh are used (מְצַבִּיהָ, Dan. 4. 32).

9. Infinitives of the derived stems with suffixes retain the third radical in OJ (אֲשַׁקִּיחֶיהָ, Gen. 24. 9) and are treated like feminine nouns of the F class (§ 12, note 9) in PTM (e. g. מְמַנִּיתִיהָ from the Pael infinitive מְמַנֶּה).

OTA. 10. The inflexions of imperfects and imperatt. in OTA, so far as examples are found, are the same as in OJ (cf. notes 1, 2, and 4). There is no case of a feminine imperat. nor of a 2 s. f. imperf. The form יִשְׁתַּנּוּ (Dan. 5. 10), with *ō* for *ōn*, may be a special jussive form (Strack). Cf. § 38, note 3. For the infinitives see notes 7 and 8.

§ 30. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(inflexion of participles)

| PAEL. | PeAL. | PeAL. | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------|
| <i>Active ptc.</i> | <i>Pass. ptc.</i> | <i>Act. ptc.</i> | |
| מְבַכֵּי | חֹנִי | חֹנִי | Sing. m. |
| מְבַכֵּיָא | חֹנִיָא | חֹנִיָא | f. |
| מְבַכְּסוֹ, מְבַכְּסִין | חֹנוֹ, חֹנִין | חֹנוֹ, חֹנִין | Plur. m. |
| מְבַכְּסִין | חֹנִין | חֹנִין | f. |

1*. In the feminine singular and plural of participles consonantal yodh is always retained and in the masc. plural the ending is *ain* in OTA and usually in PTM. In OJ the masc. plural ending is always *ān*, and this form also occurs in PTM.

2*. Participles used as nouns employ the plural termination *ewān* (§ 8, note 11). Examples: רֹעֵן, from רָעָה 'shepherd', and אֶסִּין, from אָסִי 'physician'.

3*. In the inflected forms, when the middle radical is a guttural or a doubled consonant, the supralinear MSS. regularly indicate vocal shewa before consonantal yodh (רַעֲיָא, מַחֲפִיָּא). Except in these cases vocal shewa is seldom represented (Dalman, p. 340), but should be pronounced in reading in accordance with the general analogy of participle forms, except in the singular fem. of the Peal passive partic. (cf. § 10, note 14).

4*. Words like חָוִי with pronominal suffixes attached are inflected in three ways: (1) the suffixes may unite with the termination \bar{e} as with a plural ending (מַחֲוִי, Deut. 25. 11), or (2) the final radical yodh may be retained (פָּרִי, 25. ii. 8, from פָּרִי), or (3) instead of yodh, aleph may be used. In OJ קָנִי always retains א with suffixes (Gen. 14. 20, Exod. 20. 5, Deut. 5. 9, 7. 15, 30. 7, 2 Sam. 19. 7, 22. 18, Jer. 49. 7). So also שָׁנְאָךְ, Dan. 4. 16, which is the only example of a suffixed form of these participles in OTA.

5. Examples of tense forms like those of § 21, note 7, are הָוִינָא (26. 6), fem. שָׁרִינָא (Dalman, p. 352), מַשְׁקִינָא (Deut. 11. 10—Kahle, p. 16), בָּעִינָא (29. 25). The 1 sing. masc. of this tense is always wrongly pointed like הָוִינָא in the Yemenite MSS.

§ 31.¹ הָלַךְ, חָיָא, הָוָה, אָתָא

| APHEL. | PeAL. | PeAL. | APHEL. | PeAL. | |
|--------|-------|----------------|----------------------|--------|----------|
| אָחִי | חָיָא | הָוָה | אָתָא, אֵיתִי | אָתָא | perf. |
| | | | אֵיתִיאוּ, אֵיתִיאוּ | אָתוּ | |
| יָחִי | יָחִי | יָחִי, יָחִי | יָתִי | יָתִי | imperf. |
| | | יָתוּן, יָתוּן | יָתוּן | יָתוּן | |
| | חָיָא | חָיָא | אֵיתָא | אֵיתָא | imperat. |
| | | | אֵיתוּ | אֵיתוּ | |
| אָתָא | | מָהוּ | אֵיתָא | מֵיתִי | infin. |
| | | | מֵיתִי | | PTM |
| מָחִי | חָיָא | חָיָא | מֵיתִי | אָתִי | partic. |

¹ To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

1. Several verbs, having stems with both initial aleph and final aleph or yodh, are treated like הָיָה (אָהָה, אָהָה, אָהָה, אָהָה). Of these only הָיָה has a shortened imperat. form (§ 25, note 4).

2. The imperf. and imperat. Peal and Aphel of אָהָה are written alike, but are distinguished in pronunciation (see note 3). מִיָּהּ is both infin. Peal and partic. Aphel.

Imperat. 3. In the imperat. Peal the OJ supralinear form אָהָה is equivalent to אָהָה (§ 25, note 3) and the final vowel represents an original *ai*. In PTM אָהָה (24. ii. 13), אָהָה (אִיתָה, 22. ii. 8), and אָהָה (§ 25, note 4) are all used. In Berliner's *Onkelos* *i* is written in אִיתָה, אִיתָה, &c. (cf. אִיתָה). The final vowel of אִיתָה may be corrected into *ā* (similarly in the case of אִיתָה, 22. ii. 8).

4. The 2 s. f. imperat. Peal of אָהָה is אִיתָה (1 Kings 1. 12—Kahle, p. 29) or אִיתָה (*Chrest.* 29. 22). Cf. § 29, note 4. An alternative Aphel imper. 2 plur. masc. אִיתָה (Gen. 42. 34) is given by Dalman (p. 356).

5. *μαρναθά* (1 Cor. 16. 22) is explained by Dalman (p. 152, note 3) as being מָרְנָה 'Come, our Lord'. WH and von Soden both divide the word into *μαρὰν ἀθά*.

OTA. 6. For אָהָה see table at the end of this section. The OTA passive forms הִיתָה (Dan. 6. 18) and הִיתָה (Dan. 3. 13) are explained as Hophal forms = הִיתָה (3 s. f. perf.) and הִיתָה (3 pl. m. perf.) respectively (Strack).

הָיָה. 7. In OJ the longer forms of the imperf. Peal of הָיָה are used only in the plural and (as alternatives) along with אִיהִי or אִיהִי in the 1 sing. In PTM short and long forms are used indifferently and both יָהִי and יִי occur. For PTM לָהִי and OTA לָהִי, &c., see § 18, note 6. The 3 sing. fem. impf. in OTA is תִּהְיֶה or תִּהְיֶה. No shortened forms occur in OTA.

8. In the MSS. published by Kahle the shortened forms of the Peal imperf. of הָיָה are written יָהִי and יָהִי, with the original preformative vowel retained (cf. § 2. 9).

חִיָּא. 9. In the verb חִיָּא the medial radical yodh is generally suppressed in OJ and PTM in the imperfect (and infin.) P^eal and in all parts of the Aphel. The same forms are used in Syriac. Cf. also יָהִי and Hebrew יְהִי. For OTA see table below.

חִלַּף. 10. In OJ and OTA the impf. and infin. of חִלַּף elide the medial *l* and assume the forms יְחִיָּךְ (plur. יְחִיָּכֻן) and מְחִיָּךְ respectively (cf. סָלִיִּס, § 24, note 7). In the perfect and participle OJ uses only Pael forms (cf. OTA מְחִלַּף). The imperf. and infin. Pael also sometimes occur in OJ.

| HAPHEL. | P ^e AL. | P ^e AL. | HAPHEL. | P ^e AL. | OTA |
|-----------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|----------|
| | | חָוָא, חָוָה | חִיָּתִי | אָתָא, אָתָא | perf. |
| | | חֻוָּ | חִיָּתִי | אָתָו | |
| | | לְחֻוָּ | | | imperf. |
| | | לְחֻוָּ | | | |
| | חִיָּי | | | | imperat. |
| | | חֻוָּ | | אָתָו | |
| | | | חִיָּתִיָּה (חִיָּתִיָּה) | מְחִיָּךְ | infin. |
| מְחִיָּךְ | | | | אָתָה | partic. |

§ 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (י"ע)

| ITTAPHAL. | ITHP ^e EL. | APHEL. | P ^e AL. | |
|-----------|-----------------------|------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | PTM OJ AND PTM | | | |
| אָתָקֻם | אָתָקִים | אָתָקֻם | אָתָקִים | קָם perf. |
| אָתָקֻם | | | | PTM |
| יָתָקֻם | יָתָקִים | יָתָקֻם | יָתָקִים | יָקִים imperf. |
| — | אָתָקִים | אָתָקֻם | אָתָקִים | קָים imperat. |
| — | — | אָתָקֻמָּא | אָתָקֻמָּא | מָקֻם infin. |
| | | מְתָקֻמָּא | מְתָקֻמָּא | מָקֻם PTM |
| מְתָקֻם | מְתָקִים | מְתָקֻם | מְתָקִים | קָאִים partic. act. |
| | | | | קָים partic. pass. |

Stem vowels. 1. The stem vowels of the Peal forms sometimes differ from those of the table. **Perfects in ī** are מִית 'die', סִיב 'be old', and רִיר 'spit'. **Imperfects in ē** are יָבִית, יָכִים, and יָרִין (or יָרִין) from בָּת 'pass the night', סָם 'place', and דָּן 'judge'. **Verbs final guttural** generally have *ā* in the imperf. and imperat. (e.g. יָנִיחַ), but יָע 'shake' has imperf. יָוִע and imperat. וַע (plur. וַעֲי). Pathah furtive no doubt always followed *ā* in speech, whether written or not (§ 2. 5). Verbs with imperff. in *ē* have **imperatives in ī** (בִּית, Judg. 19. 6 and 9).

2*. In supralinear MSS. the Aphel stem vowel *ē* (perf. and imperat.) is sometimes written *ī* and the stem vowel *ī* (imperf. and partic.) is sometimes written *ē*. The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Aphel with pronominal suffixes appears to be normally *ī* (אֶקְיִמָּה, Josh. 24. 26; Gen. 47. 7, Num. 27. 22; Dan. 3. 1, 5. 11).

Preformative vowels. 3. The preformative vowels of the Peal are sometimes treated according to the analogy of verbs ע"ע (§ 34), so that forms like יָקִים and יִיחִים, מָקָם and מִיחֹם occur. Examples: יָמוּת, Num. 35. 25 (Kahle, p. 9), יָתִיב, Jer. 18. 8 (Kahle, p. 38), יִיחֹם, Exod. 12. 23.

4*. The preformative vowel of the imperff., imperatt., infinn., and partic. Aphel is often written *ā* in supralinear MSS. Examples: אָתִיב (Gen. 24. 5—Merx), אָנָּח (Judg. 1. 1), אָנַח (2 Sam. 24. 16—Kahle, p. 27), אָקִים (2 Sam. 24. 18—Kahle, p. 27), מָנַח (Exod. 17. 11—Dalman, p. 324). In OTA preformative *ā* occurs in an imperfect (Dan. 2. 44) and a partic. (Dan. 5. 19) and in the uncontracted forms יִהְיֶים (Dan. 5. 21, 6. 16) and מִהְיֶים (Dan. 2. 21). In PTM the corresponding vowel is *ō*.

5*. When supralinear pathah is written in the perfect and imperative Aphel instead of preformative vocal shewa, it may be understood to denote vocal shewa (§ 2. 7), rather than to indicate a form according to the analogy of verbs ע"ע (§ 34).

Ithp^{ael}. 6. In OJ the stem vowel of the Ithp^{ael} is sometimes

written *ā* (אָהֲנָה, Judg. 5. 20) and the ה of the preformative syllable may become ו before initial ה (hence אָהֲרֹן = אָהֲרֹן).

Intensives. 7*. The intensive forms in use are קָיִים, קָיִים (OJ supralinear), קוֹיִים, קוֹיִים (OJ supralinear), and קִמְּיִים. The passive of the Palpel is like מְטַלְטֵל (Gen. 4. 12) or מְטַלְטֵל (Gen. 4. 16).

Verbs medial waw. 8*. Verbs having consonantal waw as their medial radical are הָוֵה, עוֹוֵה, צוֹוֵה, רוֹוֵה, 'rejoice', &c., also some verbs having both medial waw and final yodh, הָוֵהוּ, שָׁוֵהוּ, &c.

OTA. 9. In OTA both the stem vowels and the preformative vowels of the P^eAL and HAPHEL are normally those of the table above. In the 3 s. m. pf. Haphel the stem vowel *ī* occurs as an alternative to *ē* (Dan. 2. 14, 6. 2) and in the participle (Dan. 2. 21) and the imperf. sing. (Dan. 2. 44, 5. 21, 6. 16) *ē* occurs as an alternative to *ī*. Preformative *hateph seghol* occurs in one Haphel form in most (?) MSS. (הִקְיִמָּה, Dan. 5. 11). The stem vowel of the HITHP^eEL is *ā* in one verb (יִתְשָׁם) and *ī* in another (יִתְיוֹן). The only INTENSIVE FORMS are קִימָה (Dan. 6. 8), מְרוֹיִם (Dan. 4. 34) and הִתְרוֹמְמָה (Dan. 5. 23). There is one HOPHAL, הִקְיִמָּה (Dan. 7. 4, 5). The peculiar passive form שִׁמָּה (Dan. 6. 18) should perhaps be written שִׁמָּה (cf. § 16, note 11). See also notes 2 and 4.

§ 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (inflected forms)

| APHEL. | | P ^e AL. | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>Imperat.</i> | <i>Perfect.</i> | <i>Partic.</i> | <i>Perfect.</i> | |
| אָקִים | אָקִים | קָיִים, קָיִים | קָיִים | קָיִים |
| אָקִימִי | אָקִימָה | קָיִמָּה | קָיִמָּה | קָיִמָּה |
| | אָקִימָה-תָּא | | קָיִמָּה-תָּא | קָיִמָּה-תָּא |
| | ... | | ... | ... |
| אָקִימוּ | אָקִימוּ | קָיִמִין | קָיִמִין | קָיִמִין |
| אָקִימָא | אָקִימָא | קָיִמִין | (קָיִמִין?) | קָיִמִין |

Peal perf. 1*. The forms of the table are those of the supralinear punctuation. The stem vowel of the perf. Peal is \bar{a} only in the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. In Syriac and OTA \bar{a} is the stem vowel throughout the perf. Peal, and this pointing is used by Dalman in his *Dialektproben*. The inflected forms of מִית are treated like those of perfects in šere.

Particc. 2*. In OJ (and sometimes in PTM) the uninflected participle Peal has the form of verbs medial aleph. In the inflected forms yodh is written for aleph in both OJ and PTM. In OTA the inflected forms have נ in the Kethibh and י in the Qere, except in קָאֲמִיָּא (Dan. 7. 16). The inflected participle forms of verbs medial aleph retain נ in OJ and sometimes in PTM (1 Sam. 8. 10, 1 Kings 2. 20; *Chrest.*, 20. 14). Cf. § 23, note 9, and Dalman, p. 305.

OTA. 3. In OTA the termination of the 1 s. pf. is *eth* (שָׁמַת, Ezra 6. 12; הִקְיַמַת, Dan. 3. 14). For the form יְהִימוּ (Ezra 4. 12) see § 35, note 5.

§ 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ע)

| APHEL. | | PeAL. | |
|---------|---------|---------|-----------------------|
| אֲעִיל | אֲבִין | עֵל | בִּז (בָּז) perf. |
| יֵעִיל | יִבִּין | יֵיעוּל | יִבּוּז imperf. |
| אֲעִיל | אֲבִין | עוּל | בוּז imperat. |
| אֲעֵלָא | אֲבִנָא | מֵיעֵל | מִבּוּז infin. |
| מֵעִיל | מִבִּין | עֵלִיל | בִּזּוּז partic. act. |
| מַעֵל | מַבִּין | עֵלִיל | בִּזּוּז ptc. pass. |

Disyllabic stems. 1*. Disyllabic stems are used in the Peal participles, all intensive forms, Ithpeels, and Shaphels. Examples: מְלִיל, אֲתַבּוּז, שְׂכָלִיל. See also § 35, note 4.

2*. The intensive forms are of the types עֲלִיל, עוֹלִיל (especially PTM), עָלִיל (OJ), and עֲלֵעִיל. עֲלֵי is borrowed from the ע"י stems (§ 32). The use of עֲלִיל is a special feature of the supralinear vocalization. מְקַצֵּץ (25.4) is the passive participle of this form.

Stem vowels. 3*. The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. P^eal, which is pathah in Syriac and OTA, is always *ā* in the supralinear vocalization of OJ, following the analogy of the verbs of § 32. The stem vowel of the imperf. P^eal is either *ō* or *ǎ* (יִבֹּחַ, יִיחַם).

Preform. vowels. 4*. The imperf., imperat., and infin. P^eal and all the tenses of the Aphel have the same forms as the corresponding parts of verbs initial nun (§ 24). In the imperf. and infin. P^eal preformative *ǝ* is lengthened to *ē* before an initial stem guttural, but is retained before initial resh (יִרְשֶׁק, Lev. 15. 8). This treatment is reversed in the only two cases that occur in OTA (מִחֶן, Dan. 4. 24; תִּרְעֶץ, Dan. 2. 40).

Participles. 5. In PTM the participle form עֲלִיל (§ 32) is sometimes used in place of עָלִיל. In OJ contracted plurals like עֲלִין, for עֲלִילִין, are a feature of supralinear texts. In OTA עללין (Kethibh) is replaced by עֲלִין or עָלִין (Dan. 4. 4, 5. 8).

6. Aphel participles like מִקֵּל and מִיֵּצֵן in PTM are viewed as Hebraisms by Dalman.

7. מַעֲלָה (25. 5), from מַעַל, follows the ordinary rule for the inflexion of participles. For מַעֲלִילִין (23. 8) see § 21, note 6.

Borrowed forms. 8*. The forms appropriate to ע"י stems (§ 32) are transferred to verbs of this class in the cases named in notes 2, 3, and 5, and in others also (e.g. in Judg. 6. 26 תִּקְוִין = תִּקְוִין).

Ittaphal. 9. The Ittaphal forms are like אִתְּחַל and אִתְּחַלֵּל.

OTA. 10. For the P^eAL perf. see note 3, and for the only examples of imperf. infin. and partic. see notes 4 and 5. There are three types of INTENSIVES in OTA: מַלֵּל (three verbs), מְרַעֵעַ (Dan. 2. 40), and אֲשַׁתּוּמֵם (Dan. 4. 16). In the HAPHEL, preformative

pathah becomes seghol before פ (הַעֲלֶה, Dan. 5. 7). There are two cases of erroneously dissimilated Haphel forms (הִנָּעַל, Dan. 2. 25, 6. 19, and הִנָּעֲלָה, Dan. 4. 3). Cf. § 26, note 9. For normal Haphel forms see table p. 96. A HOPHAL form of one verb is found (הַעֲלֵל).

§ 35. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

(inflected forms)

| APHEL. | | PeAL. | |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| PERFECT. | | PERFECT. | |
| Plur. | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. |
| אֶעֱלֹו | אֶעֱלִי | עָלֻ (עָלוּ) | עָל (עָלָה) 3 masc. |
| אֶעֱלֹא | אֶעֱלִית | עָלָא | עָלָת fem. |
| אֶעֱלֹתוֹן | אֶעֱלִיתָ-תָּא | עָלָתוֹן | עָלָתָּא-תָּא 2 masc. |
| אֶעֱלֹתִין | אֶעֱלִיתְּ | עָלָתִין | עָלָתְּ fem. |
| אֶעֱלֹנָא | אֶעֱלִיתְּ | עָלָנָא | עָלִית 1 com. |
| IMPERFECT. | | IMPERFECT. | |
| Plur. | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. |
| יַעֲלֹן | יַעֲלִי | יַעֲלֹן | יַעֲלִי 3 masc. |
| תַּעֲלֹן | תַּעֲלִי | תַּעֲלֹן | תַּעֲלִי 2 masc. |
| נַעֲלִי | נַעֲלִי | נַעֲלִי | נַעֲלִי 1 com. |
| IMPERATIVE. | | IMPERATIVE. | |
| Plur. | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. |
| אֶעֱלֹו | אֶעֱלִי | עָלוּ | עָל 2 masc. |
| אֶעֱלֹא | אֶעֱלִי | עָלָא | עָלִי fem. |

1*. Following Dalman's precedent, and in accordance with the analogy of OTA, the final radical has been doubled in the above table, before vocalic endings, in the Peal perfect and imperative, but not in the Aphel. In Berliner's *Onkelos* doubling is not indicated in any tense.

2*. In the 3 pl. m. perf. Peal the stem vowel \bar{a} (appropriate to ע"ו stems) is sometimes written in supralinear MSS. for \check{a} . The only example of a 3 plur. masc. perf. Peal in OTA is treated in this way (קִי , Dan. 2. 35). See also § 34, note 3.

3. Supralinear pathah in imperf. forms like יִעֲלִין (Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, p. 15) may be regarded as representing ḥaṭeph pathah (§ 2. 7).

4. Peal and Aphel forms like רַקֶּקֶת (PTM), עֲלֵלֶת (Dan. 5. 10, Kethibh), and תַּטִּילֶל (Dan. 4. 9), with repetition of the final radical, occur in PTM and OTA.

OTA. 5. The distinctive features of OTA are as follows: In the inflected forms of the imperative PeAL the stem vowel is \bar{o} (גִּדִּי , Dan. 4. 11, 20). In the perfect HOPHAL some MSS. double the final radical before the plural ending (הִעֲלִי , Dan. 5. 15), others do not. In HAPHEL forms, when the stem vowel (\bar{e}) becomes vocal shewa, it is written ḥaṭeph seghol in some MSS. (מִדְּקָה , Dan. 7. 7, 19, תִּדְּקֶנֶה , Dan. 7. 23—Baer, Ginsburg, Strack). Perhaps יְהִיטוּ (Ezra 4. 12) was originally intended for יִהְיִטוּ (cf. § 2. 8, 9). But the tense, termination (§ 18, note 7) and possibly stem vowel (cf. § 34, note 8) are all abnormal. There is no other example of the 3 plur. imperf. Haphel of an ע"ו verb in OTA. See also notes above, and for הִדְּקֶת or הִדְּקֶת (Dan. 2. 34, 45), § 17, note 6.

§ 36. VERBAL SUFFIXES

1*. For the various forms of the accusative suffixes see pp. 90–91. In PTM the suffixes added to verbal stems ending in a consonant are those of § 4 and the suffixes added to stems ending in a vowel are presumably those of § 12, note 2, although the only possible vocalic stem is the 2 sing. fem. perf. (for the 2 s. m. and the 3 pl. see notes 3 and 5). In OJ the variations from the suffixes of §§ 4 and 12 are in the 1 singular, ִי or ִיְ for \bar{i} , and in the 3 plural,

where the independent pronoun אֲנִי is substituted for הוּן (וּן). For the forms of the suffixes added to the 3 s. f. perf. see note 6. In OJ, in agreement with the Hebrew text, the suffix of the 2 plural is rarely found. It seems never to occur with a 3 sing. masc. perf. stem.

2*. In OJ אֲנִי is joined in writing to the verbal stem with which it is associated, א being omitted when the stem ends in a consonant and the form being reduced to נִין with the 3 s. f. perf. and to פִּין in union with stems ending in a vowel (שָׁלַחְנִי, שָׁלַחְנִי, שָׁלַחְנִי). The forms of the verbal stems are not modified before אֲנִי except in the 1 s. perf., in which בָּתַבְתָּ, בָּתַיְתָּ and אֲבָתַיְתָּ are used for בָּתַבְתָּ, &c.

3*. The difference between PTM and OJ in the endings of the 3 plur. perf. and 2 plur. imperat. involves a further difference in the suffixes attached to these forms. PTM uses the suffixes appropriate to the consonantal ending *ūn*, while OJ uses those required by the vocalic ending *ū*. Examples: אֲפָקִינִי (25. ii. 2), אֲפָקִינִי (Gen. 19. 16).

Perfect 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. 4. For the stem forms of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects P^{ea}l and Aphel with suffixes see paradigm, p. 90. Pael perfects are treated like Aphels. In the suffixed forms of the perfects Pael and Aphel the final stem vowel generally becomes vocal shewa both in the 3 sing. and the 3 plural (אֲפָקִינִי, Gen. 19. 16), although sometimes the orthography of PTM presumably indicates the retention of the full vowel (20. ii. 2, אֲמָלִיכִינִי, 21. 1, אֲמָלִיכִינִי).

OJ plural forms are sometimes found in PTM (26. 8, נִצְחִינִי). Sometimes the vowel points in Dalman's *Dialektproben* are unnecessarily those of OJ, instead of being those of PTM. In 21. ii. 7 יְהִיבִינִי should be יְהִיבִינִי, and in 28. 5 אֲרָפִינִי should be אֲרָפִינִי.

2 sing. and 1 sing. 5. In OJ and PTM the forms of the 1 sing. perf. with suffixes are like בָּתַבְתָּ, &c. The 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. com. with suffixes of the 3 s. m. or 3 pl. (where

ambiguity arises) are distinguished in OJ by the use of the form *בְּתַבָּתָּ* for the 2 s. m. But ambiguous forms with suffixes of the 3 sing. fem. like *אֶשְׁבְּחֶתְּהָ* 'I have found her' (Gen. 38. 22) and 'thou hast found her' (Gen. 38. 23) are in use. *שְׁבַקְתָּנִי* (Gen. 31. 28) = *σαβαχθαι* (Matt. 27. 46), having a suffix of the first person, can only mean 'thou hast forsaken me'. In PTM the 2 s. m. is clearly distinguished from the 1 sing. com. by its employment of the termination *inn* (note 8) before suffixes (*שְׁבַקְתָּנִי*, *אֶשְׁבְּחֶתְּהָ*). The 2 sing. fem. perf. is distinguished by its retention of the old termination *i* before suffixes (*אֶשְׁבְּחֶתְּהָ*).

3 s. f. 6*. The 3 sing. fem. perf. with suffixes is sometimes written as if it were 1 sing. com. (*מְלַכְתִּיהָ* 'she counselled him', Judg. 1. 14). All the cases noted by Praetorius (Judg. 1. 14) are forms in which the suffix is 3 s. m. The unambiguous forms are: *שְׁלַחְתָּנִי*, *שְׁלַחְתָּנָא*, *שְׁלַחְתְּכוֹן*, *שְׁלַחְתָּנוֹ*; *שְׁלַחְתָּהּ*, *שְׁלַחְתִּיהָ*, *שְׁלַחְתָּה*.

1 plur. and 2 plur. 7. The suffixed stem of the 1 plur. perf. in OJ is the same as the independent stem, but written without *א* (*שְׁלַחְתָּהּ*). Instead of *שְׁלַחְתָּהּ* the form *שְׁלַחְתָּה* is used. In PTM the forms *שְׁלַחְתָּה*, &c., are used with suffixes. Dalman explains *ת* as derived from the accus. particle *יָת* (§ 4, note 4). The suffixed stems of the 2 plur. masc. perf. are like *שְׁלַחְתָּו* in OJ (suffixes as § 12) and like *שְׁלַחְתָּו* in PTM (suffixes as in § 4).

Imperf. stems. 8*. The stems of imperfects with suffixes are treated similarly in OJ and PTM. The syllable *inn* is added to the stems of all imperfects (cf. Hebrew *יַעֲבֹדְנִי*), except in OJ before the 3 plur. masc. suffix. The suffixes are the same as those added to perfect stems. (See paradigm, p. 90 f.). The orthography *יִרְדְּפֶנּוּ* for *יִרְדְּפֶנּוּ* and *יִרְדְּפֶנּוּ* for *יִרְדְּפֶנּוּ* in Yemenite MSS. is a Hebraism due to late correctors (Diettrich in *ZATW.* xx. 152).

Imperat. stems. 9. In OJ singular imperative stems with suffixes remain unchanged and the suffixes are those of § 12, except in the cases of the 1 sing. and 3 plural. In PTM the Pael and

Aphel singular imperat. stems with suffixes are identical with the corresponding perfect stems. The P^{ea}l imperat. stem is distinguished from its perfect by the vowels *ī* or *ū* following the initial radical. These vowels are sometimes indicated in the MSS. by yodh and waw respectively.

The imperative plural stem in OJ is like כְּתִבּוּ and in PTM like כְּתִבּוּ (see paradigm, p. 91). Pael and Aphel perfect and imperative plural forms are generally not distinguishable. The Aphel imperat. in OJ occasionally retains its final stem vowel (e. g. אִפְיִקוּהָ 'bring her out' = אִפְיִקוּהָ).

ע"ו stems. 10*. The forms of ע"ו verbs undergo no change when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

Syntax. 11. The use of an anticipative pronominal suffix before a definite accusative governed by a verb, an idiom characteristic of Syriac, is found occasionally in OJ (Gen. 39. 15, שְׂבָקִיהָ לְלִבִּישָׁהּ לְוִתִּי 'he left his garment beside me') and PTM (22. ii. 4, פָּקְרִיהָ לְשִׁלְיָהּ 'he ordered the messenger'; 21. 7, 22. ii. 6).

12. The subject of a dependent clause introduced by דִּ is also sometimes preceded by an anticipative pronoun (16. 6, אֲשֶׁבַחְתִּיהָ דִּהָוָה מְוַבֵּן 'he found that he had been selling'). It is idiomatic to put the subject of such a dependent clause into the principal sentence as an object (16. ii. 11, חָמַת לְחֶהוּא דְּוַבֵּן דְּקָאִים בְּתַרְיָה 'he saw that the buyer was standing behind him').

13. Occasionally the object pronoun of the 3 plural is used indefinitely for 'some people' (28. 4, חֲמַתֵּן קַטְלִין 'he saw some men killing' (mice); for the verbal stem חמת see § 37, note 1).

§ 37.¹ VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH לֵא STEMS

Perf. 3 s. m. 1. In PTM the termination of 3 s. m. of all perfects with suffixes is treated like the ending of a feminine noun

¹ To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

(cf. § 36, note 7). Examples: חָמַתִּיה and חָמַתִּיה (or חָמַתִּיה), פָּסַתִּיה, אִתִּיתִיה. In the derived stems these forms, when unvocalized, are the same as the 3 s. f. (note 4), and in the Peal חָמַתִּיה is always ambiguous, 'he saw him' or 'she saw him' (note 5).

2. In OJ the 3 s. m. perf. Peal with suffixes either retains (consonantal) א (חָוֵּאֵה, חָוֵּאֵה, &c.) or is treated as ending in a vowel (חָוֵּה, חָוֵּה). With אָנִי the suffixed forms are like חָוֵּנִי.

3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. 3. In OJ the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Pael and Aphel with suffixes generally preserve the third radical yodh. Examples: אִשְׁרִיִּה (Gen. 2. 15), אִתִּיה (Gen. 2. 22), אִמְעִיִּי (Gen. 3. 13), אִתִּיה (Judg. 1. 7). With אָנִי the ordinary stem is used (אִתִּיה).

In PTM the third radical yodh is sometimes retained both in Peal perfects (25. iii. 7, מְחַיִּיִּה = מְחַיִּיִּה), and in perfects of the derived stems (cf. notes 1 and 5).

3 s. f. 4. In OJ and PTM the ending of the 3 s. f. of \bar{z} perfects (§ 27) is generally contracted to ית before suffixes. Examples: אִשְׁקִיִּיה, אִפְסִיִּיה (Judg. 4. 19), אִתִּיה (Chrest. 18. 13). In PTM these are also imperative forms (note 7).

Perf. stems. 5. In the other parts of the perfect tenses suffixes are generally added to the unchanged verbal stem. Examples: חָוֵּה (3 s. f.), חָוֵּה (OJ 2 s. m.), חָוֵּה (1 sing.), חָוֵּה (OJ 3 pl. perf. Peal), חָוֵּה (PTM 3 pl.). For חָמַתִּיה (1 plur.) see § 36, note 7.

In some supralinear MSS. the ending of the 3 pl. m. pf. Peal with suffixes is written \bar{z} instead of \bar{o} (מְחַוֵּה, Judg. 1. 8; מְחַוֵּנִי, Judg. 1. 4).

Impf. stems. 6. In all imperf. tenses the suffixed stem is made by adding נ to the ordinary stem (§ 36, note 8). Examples: יְחַוֵּנִי, יְחַוֵּנִי. When אָנִי is used the forms are like that of יְחַוֵּנִי. In some supralinear MSS. the vowels before nn are i instead of \bar{e} , and \bar{z} instead of \bar{o} (יְחַוֵּנִי, יְחַוֵּנִי). Cf. OTA, § 38, note 5.

Imperat. stems. 7. In OJ imperatives 2 s. m. and 2 pl. m. stems are unchanged when suffixes are added (אֲהַיְיִ, אֲהַיְיִ). In some MSS. \bar{u} is written for \bar{o} and forms with consonantal yodh are also found (אֲהַיְיִ, Judg. 1. 24).

In PTM the termination \bar{i} of the 2 s. m. is treated like a feminine termination (23. ii. 7, אֲהַיְיִ). 2 pl. m. forms are like אֲהַיְיִ (for which in 28. 5 Dalman puts אֲהַיְיִ).

Participles. 8. *nn* is used with other suffixed stems than those named above, e. g. with participles (29. 7, מִפְּנִיָּה, i. e. מִפְּנִיָּה).

§ 38. VERBAL SUFFIXES IN OTA

Suffix forms. 1. The forms of the verbal suffixes in OTA and the treatment of the stems to which they are attached agree closely with the corresponding features of OJ. The accusative pronoun 'them' is not expressed by a suffix but by some one of three independent pronouns—הֵמוֹ (eight times), הֵמוֹן (three times), and אֵנִי (Dan. 6. 25). The suffixes attached to verbal stems vary according as the stem ends in a consonant or a vowel. In the former case, they are the same as the suffixes joined to nouns, except that נִי is 'me' and that נָּ is written for נָּ in the only case of its occurrence (Dan. 2. 23). In the latter case, the suffixes that actually occur are: נִי, הִי (2 s. m.), הִי (§ 12), נָּ, and כֹּן.

Perf. stems. 2. The stems of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. of all perfects are treated as in OJ (see OJ paradigm, p. 90). Examples: הִקְרַבְתִּי, הִשְׁלַטְתָּ, הִחַמְתָּ.

The only examples of other parts of a perfect tense with suffixes are two of the 2 s. m. in Dan. 2. 23 (הִדְעָתָנִי and הִדְעָתָנִי) and one 1 sing of a אִלִּי verb (note 5).

Imperf. stems. 3. Imperfects with suffixes closely resemble those of OJ and PTM (§ 36, note 8). נִ is combined with stems ending in a consonant and נִ with stems ending in a vowel. Exam-

ples: *יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָה*, *יִשְׁיֹבְכָה*, *יִחַנְנָה*. With the suffix of the 2 pl. m. *נָ* is written, without daghesh, and in one case the preceding vowel is seghol (*יִשְׁיֹבְכָנוּ*, Dan. 3. 15; *יִשְׁאָלְנָנוּ*, Ezra 7. 21). In the case of two imperfects used in a jussive sense the suffixes are added to the verbal stem without *nn* (*יִבְהִלְךָ*, Dan. 4. 16; *יִבְהִלְיוּ*, Dan. 5. 10).

Imperat. stems. 4. The only imperat. with suffixes in OTA are *הַעֲלֵנִי* (Dan. 2. 24), *חַבְּלִיהִי* (Dan. 4. 20), and one from a *ל"א* verb (note 5). They agree with the forms of OJ (§ 36, note 9).

ל"א verbs. 5. There are seven cases in OTA of *ל"א* verbs with suffixes attached. The PERFECT form *בְּנִיתִהּ* 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27) is peculiar in having *ai* for *ē* (§ 28, note 6) and seghol for vocal shewa. Some MSS. read *בְּנִיתִיה*. The other cases of perfect stems with suffixes (*בְּנָהִי*, *שְׁנוּהִי*) agree with the practice of OJ (§ 37, notes 2 and 5).

In the 3 s. m. IMPERFECT before *נ* the *šere* of the independent form (*יִחַנְנֶה*) is replaced by *hireq* (*יִחַנְנֵה*, *יִחַנְנִי*) and in the plural *ō* is replaced by *u* (*יִחַנְנֻנוּ*, 2 pl. m. impf. Haphel). For similar forms in OJ see § 37, note 6.

The only *ל"א* IMPERATIVE form is the 2 pl. m. imperat. Haphel *חַבְּלִינִי* (Dan. 2. 6).

ע"י verbs. 6. No change takes place in the stems of *ע"י* verbs when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

PARADIGM OF VERB (OJ)

[illegible]

Imperfects.

[illegible]

PARADIGM OF VERBAL SUFFIXES (OJ AND PTM)

Perfect.

| APHEL. | PeAL. | APHEL. | PeAL. |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 3 plur. m. | PTM | 3 sing. m. | 3 sing. m. |
| אָרְבֵּינִי | בְּרַבְּנִי | אָרְבֵּינִי | בְּרַבְּנִי |
| אָרְבֵּינֶךָ | בְּרַבְּנֶךָ | אָרְבֵּינֶךָ | בְּרַבְּנֶךָ |
| אָרְבֵּינֶיהָ | בְּרַבְּנֶיהָ | אָרְבֵּינֶיהָ | בְּרַבְּנֶיהָ |
| אָרְבֵּינָא | בְּרַבְּנָא | אָרְבֵּינָא | בְּרַבְּנָא |
| אָרְבֵּינָם | בְּרַבְּנָם | אָרְבֵּינָם | בְּרַבְּנָם |
| — | — | — | — |
| אָרְבֵּינֵנוּ | בְּרַבְּנֵנוּ | אָרְבֵּינֵנוּ | בְּרַבְּנֵנוּ |

Imperfect.

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 3 plur. m. | PTM | 3 sing. m. | 3 sing. m. |
| אָרְבֵּינִי | אָרְבֵּינִי | אָרְבֵּינִי | אָרְבֵּינִי |
| אָרְבֵּינֶךָ | אָרְבֵּינֶךָ | אָרְבֵּינֶךָ | אָרְבֵּינֶךָ |
| אָרְבֵּינֶיהָ | אָרְבֵּינֶיהָ | אָרְבֵּינֶיהָ | אָרְבֵּינֶיהָ |

۱. ۲. ۳. ۴. ۵.

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

١٠٠
١٠١
١٠٢
١٠٣
١٠٤

[illegible]

١٢٤٥
 ١٢٤٦

١٥٤٢
١٥٤٣
١٥٤٤
١٥٤٥
١٥٤٦

Imperative.

2 sing. m.
הַפְּתִי
הַפְּתִי
הַפְּתִי
הַפְּתִי
הַפְּתִי

2 sing. m.
နင်း၊ ခံ၊
နင်း၊ ခံ၊
နင်း၊ ခံ၊
နင်း၊ ခံ၊

2 plur. m.
הַפְּחוּי
הַפְּחוּי
הַפְּחוּא
הַפְּחוּא
הַפְּחוּן

PTM
 וְהָפֹנִי
 וְהָפֹנִי
 וְהָפֹנִי
 וְהָפֹנִי
 וְהָפֹנִי

နိဗ္ဗာန်၊ ဇေယျ
နိဗ္ဗာန်ဇေယျံ
နိဗ္ဗာန်ဇေယျံ
နိဗ္ဗာန်ဇေယျံ
နိဗ္ဗာန်ဇေယျံ
နိဗ္ဗာန်ဇေယျံ
နိဗ္ဗာန်ဇေယျံ
နိဗ္ဗာန်ဇေယျံ

OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

Personal pronouns (nominatives).

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------|
| אֲנִי, אֲנִי | אֲנִי | 1 com. |
| אַתָּה, אַתָּה | אַתָּה (אֲנִי) | 2 masc. |
| — | — | fem. |
| הוּא, הוּא | הוּא | 3 masc. |
| הִיא, הִיא | הִיא | fem. |

Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

| | | | |
|-------|----------------|--------|-------|
| that | הַהוּא, הַהוּא | הַהוּא | masc. |
| those | הַהֵם, הַהֵם | הַהֵם | fem. |
| | — | — | |
| | הַהֵם, הַהֵם | הַהֵם | |
| | הַהֵם, הַהֵם | הַהֵם | |

Inflection of Nouns.

| | | | |
|--------|--------|--------|--------------------|
| שְׁמִי | שְׁמִי | שְׁמִי | Singular absolute. |
| שְׁמִי | שְׁמִי | שְׁמִי | construct. |
| שְׁמִי | שְׁמִי | שְׁמִי | emphatic. |

| | | | | |
|------------|--------|----------|--------|------------|
| שְׂאֵלָן | חֵין | יוֹמִין | Plural | absolute. |
| שְׂאֵלָת | חֵית | יוֹמֵי | | construct. |
| שְׂאֵלָתָא | חֵיתָא | יוֹמֵיָא | | emphatic. |

Nouns with suffixes.

| SINGULAR. | PLURAL. | SINGULAR. | PLURAL. | SINGULAR. |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| שְׂאֵלָתִי | חֵיתִי | חֵיתִי | יוֹמֵי | יוֹמִי 1 sing. |
| שְׂאֵלָתְךָ | חֵיתְךָ | חֵיתְךָ | יוֹמֵךָ (יוֹמֵךְ) | יוֹמֵךָ 2 s. m. f. |
| שְׂאֵלָתָא | חֵיתָא | חֵיתָא | יוֹמֵהוּ | יוֹמֵהוּ 3 s. m. |
| שְׂאֵלָתְךָ | חֵיתְךָ | חֵיתְךָ | יוֹמֵהוּ (יוֹמֵהוּ) | יוֹמֵהוּ f. |
| שְׂאֵלָתְנָא | חֵיתְנָא | חֵיתְנָא | יוֹמֵנָא (יוֹמֵנָא) | יוֹמֵנָא 1 plur. |
| שְׂאֵלָתְכוֹן | חֵיתְכוֹן | חֵיתְכוֹן | יוֹמֵיכוֹן | יוֹמֵיכוֹן - בָּם 2 pl. m. f. |
| שְׂאֵלָתְהוּ | חֵיתְהוּ | חֵיתְהוּ | יוֹמֵהוּ - הֵם | יוֹמֵהוּ - הֵם 3 pl. m. |
| שְׂאֵלָתְהוּ | חֵיתְהוּ | חֵיתְהוּ | יוֹמֵהוּ | יוֹמֵהוּ f. |

OTA PARADIGM OF VERB

| HOPHAL. | HITHPAAL. | HITHPEL. | HAPHEL. | PAEL. | PAAL. | |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Perfect.</i> | | | | | | |
| הִנָּחַת | הִנָּחֲתָב | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | הִנָּחֲתָבְתִּי | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | קָרַב ¹ | קָרַב 3 s. m. |
| הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | | | | | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ f. |
| | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | | | | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ 2 s. m. |
| | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | | | | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ f. |
| הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | | | | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ 1 sing. |
| | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | | | | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ 3 pl. m. |
| | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | | | | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ f. |
| | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | | | | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ 2 pl. m. |
| | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | | | | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ f. |
| | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | | | | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ 1 pl. |
| <i>Imperfect.</i> | | | | | | |
| הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ 3 s. m. |
| הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | הִנָּחֲתָבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ | קָרַבְתָּ f. |

OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

TABLE OF VERBS

| ע"ע | ע"י | ל"א | פ"י | פ"א | פ"נ | peAL. |
|---------|--------|-------|------|-----|-------|------------|
| על | קם | פעא | ידע | יחב | נפק | Perf. |
| (ידע) | קום | יהעא | יהבע | יחב | [יפק] | Imperf. |
| | קום | | יע | | פק | Imperat. |
| (מח) | | מבעא | | | [מפק] | Infjn. |
| | קאם | פעא | ידע | | נפק | Ptc. act. |
| | (רם) | | | | אמר | Ptc. pass. |
| HAPHEL. | | | | | | |
| הק | הקום | השני | הודע | החב | החב | Perf. |
| הק | הקום | השני | הודע | | | Imperf. |
| הק | | | | | | Imperat. |
| הק | הקום | השני | הודע | | | Infjn. |
| מהק | מהקום | מהשני | | | העל | Ptc. act. |
| מק | (מקום) | | | | מא | Ptc. pass. |



